

### **Ho strikes again**

Dongkhe is a strategic French outpost in Indo-China a few miles south of the Chinese frontier. On September 20 elements of the Foreign Legion recaptured it from Ho Chi-minh's rebel Communist army, which had successfully engaged the small garrison several days before. All along the 300-mile frontier as far west as the region of Loakay, which commands the fertile, French-controlled Hanoi delta area, other concentrations of Communist troops prepared for battle. The renewed fighting at the close of the rainy season indicated something more serious than the normal give-and-take of the civil war. Ho Chi-minh was apparently ready to launch his long-threatened general offensive in an effort to break a four-year-old stalemate. There was damning evidence that the rebel leader was receiving enough arms from Red China to lift his troops above the level of mere guerrilla fighters. It is significant that both Laokay and Dongkhe stand at the extremities of the Chinese frontier. If Red China were contemplating invasion in support of Ho Chi-minh's forces, the softening-up process would naturally begin at these border outposts. Adding further fuel to the fever of suspicion racking French officialdom were reports of hurried military preparations in the hills of South China. Is Moscow, with the aid of Mao Tse-tung's Chinese Red army, about to exploit the next hot spot in the cold war? The Kremlin can definitely tip the scales in favor of Ho Chi-minh. Otherwise time favors the American-aided build-up of the French and the pro-French Indo-Chinese army.

### **... the odds for and against**

The issue in Indo-China will probably be decided in favor of communism only when the vast armies of Red China pour down the narrow peninsula. If the Communist hordes are successful in engulfing Indo-China, they will then be in a position to overrun neighboring Thailand, Burma and Malaya. They will have succeeded where the attack in Korea, in the present optimistic view of allied military strategists, will have failed. They will have finally succeeded in breaching the defense line set down by the anti-Communist world. The recent encouraging communiqués from the battlefield in Korea indicate that the line has held in North Asia. The next obvious step is to attempt to crack it in Southeast Asia. Against the advantages deriving from an immediate and successful invasion of Indo-China, however, there are possible disadvantages which the Kremlin must ponder. 1) Ho Chi-minh is fighting a brilliantly successful delaying action for Russia in Indo-China. The longer his army is able to involve the French, the more certain is Russia's position in Europe. The French army of 140,000 men engaged in Asia weakens by that much the combined defense efforts of the democracies in Western Europe. 2) Foreign Minister Robert Schuman has said that aggression by Red China in Indo-China would be met by an immediate appeal to the UN. The recent prompt UN action on Korea might influence the Kremlin's decision.

## **CURRENT COMMENT**

UN "police action" directed at China could have serious consequences for the Red-controlled country, particularly at a time when Peiping is striving for representation in the world organization. The next few months should tell whether or not the advantages of invasion outweigh the disadvantages on the Kremlin's scales.

### **Schuman Plan stymied**

The Schuman Plan, which sent a thrill of hope through the Western world when it was first announced on May 9 (AM. 5/27, p. 234), has been largely absent from the news during recent weeks. The reason is that there has been little news to report. The delegates and experts who have been struggling in Paris to reduce the proposal to a workable blueprint have encountered two roadblocks which have stopped all progress. They have not yet succeeded in reconciling the power of the "High Authority"—the supranational agency that would coordinate the steel and coal industries of the six participating nations—with the traditional sovereignty of the several governments. Neither have they been able to find the answer to the price differentials that currently exist. The Belgian coal mines are high-cost producers; the German and Dutch mines are low-cost producers; the French mines are somewhere in the middle. Since the economic goal of the Schuman Plan is to establish a single market for steel in which all the countries would compete on a basis of equality, either the Belgian price for coal—an important part of steel costs—must be lowered, or the German and Dutch prices raised. The Belgian coal miners would certainly resist a cut in wages, and resist even more strongly any move to close uneconomical and high-cost mines. On the other hand, the wages of German miners could not be raised without affecting the wage levels of other German workers. Since the primary purpose of the Schuman Plan is *political*—to promote European unity and remove the threat of German aggression—the *economic* difficulty of price differentials will not be allowed to stand in the way. The answer to the problem of what powers to give the "High Authority" will be harder to find. That is a political problem, too, and a very delicate one. Incidentally, Foreign Minister Schuman recently stated that his proposal is the fruit of twenty years of Catholic social teaching and action on the Continent.

### **Czech squeeze on Church**

"It worked in Poland and Hungary," the Communist bosses of Czechoslovakia argued; "there is no reason why the same tactic won't work here." Their goal is to force an official acceptance of the regime by the Catholic Church. The method that succeeded in Poland and Hungary was the threat of a government-sponsored schism. The acute stage of the attack always opens with a campaign of vilification of the "higher clergy," coupled with a demand from "patriotic" priests for a prompt settlement of all outstanding differences with the People's Democracy. Writing in the Communist *Lidova Demokracie* on September 9, an excommunicated priest, Josef Plojhar, announced: "The progressive clergy and the faithful are disturbed by the narrow-mindedness of the bishops. . . . We shall do everything in our power that a Church-State agreement may be reached in Czechoslovakia." The bishops, meanwhile, are effectively isolated from their priests and people. All diocesan chancery offices are occupied by Government officials; all the bishops are under "house arrest," their secretaries jailed, their pastoral letters banned, their parish appointments declared illegal. While apostate "progressive" priests are paid handsomely by the Government, well over a thousand of the loyal clergy and religious of Czechoslovakia have been herded into concentration monasteries for political "re-education." Those who fail to cooperate are sent to the mines, as happened to the Franciscans held for indoctrination at Bohosudov. Those who succumb to the brutal beatings of the Communist pedagogues are sent to vacant parishes to confuse the faithful. Like the harassed Hungarian hierarchy (AM. 9/23, p. 640), the beleaguered bishops of Czechoslovakia may soon be forced to sign an agreement—at pistol point—in order to keep their churches open.

### **Shrinking dollar gap**

Don't look now, but when the figures are in for August, the troublesome dollar gap—that is, the export surplus in U.S. foreign trade which other countries can not pay for in dollars—may have been closed. The report on trade for July was very promising. Imports for that month were up nearly thirty per cent over the

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1949 monthly average. They reached the healthy figure of \$711.1 million. After deducting the cost of mutual defense shipments, we exported during the same period goods and services totaling \$727.1 million. That left the world just \$16 million short of balancing its account with the United States. Since business in July was only slightly affected by the Korean war and our accelerated stockpiling program, chances are that last month the gap was completely closed. This ought to be good news to the American people, whose taxes have financed the various postwar expedients—UNRRA and the Marshall Plan especially—which have kept the war-torn world afloat. That bankrupt world, as its production and exports rise, is now approaching something like solvency. The resumption of normal foreign trade is still not an early possibility, but with the United States importing more and exporting less, world trade is moving in the right direction. It is ironical that Stalin's increasingly belligerent imperialism, which has stimulated the United States to step up its purchases abroad of raw materials and finished goods, is contributing to this development.

### **Inventory controls**

"If the Government doesn't do something soon about this galloping gray market," a small manufacturer told us recently, "this little enterpriser might just as well shut up shop." Last week the Government hustled to the relief of our small manufacturer and to thousands of others like him. On September 17 the new National Production Authority issued an order banning the hoarding of some thirty-two war materials. From now on all producers and manufacturers, according to the NPA ruling, are obliged to limit their stocks of such items as steel, copper, cement, gypsum board, aluminum, tin and copper to a "practical minimum working inventory." A businessman runs afoul of the law if he buys more than he needs to carry on normal operations, or if he knowingly sells any of the thirty-two materials to a hoarder. Violators may be punished by fines up to \$10,000 and a year in prison. If this regulation works—and legitimate businessmen who are concerned with the morals of the marketplace should help to make it work—it will stop gray-market speculators from acquiring stocks and holding them for a killing. It will also stop, or at least slow down, the sort of competitive scrambling for scarce materials which, since the Korean war, has helped send the prices of many raw materials soaring. Though the order says nothing about those now holding excess stocks, the Government, under the National Production Act, has the power to requisition such surpluses. To demonstrate that it intends to enforce the new regulations strictly, NPA ought to make judicious use of this power forthwith.

### **Warning to union "innocents"**

Next week, on October 6-7, three Communist-dominated unions will meet in New York City and duly vote to merge their unholy destinies. Two of

them—the Food and Tobacco Workers and the United Office and Professional Workers—were expelled this year from the CIO for slavish adherence to the line of the Communist party. The third union, the Distributive Workers Union, was formerly New York Local 65 of the CIO Retail Clerks. It quit that international two years ago when its officials refused to sign the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. Though they have since signed the affidavits, they still follow the CP line. At least one of them was noted prominently in the last May Day parade. One effect of this three-union merger will be to place under Communist control about 85,000 American workers, most of whom are “innocents” and don’t know what it’s all about. Another effect will be to broaden the Distributive Workers Union’s base of operations. By using the nationwide facilities of the Food and Office workers, DWU will now be in a position to organize department stores, the five-and-ten chains and drug stores up and down the land. Well-heeled and shrewdly led, it will make a big splash in these largely unorganized fields unless people who know the score, and who are at the same time sympathetic to unions, lend the competing CIO and AFL organizations a helping hand. Believe it or not, despite the war in Korea, DWU recently snowed under the AFL retail clerks in a representation election at a big Philadelphia store. Presumably the vast majority of those store workers are good Americans. Yet at a time when Stalin’s puppets were killing American boys in Korea, they went down the line for one of the most notorious pro-Communist outfits in all U.S. labor. How dumb, one is compelled to wonder, can some people be?

#### ***That two-term amendment***

Proposed amendments to the U. S. Constitution have a way of getting lost in the shuffle. In March, 1947 Congress approved and submitted to the State legislatures for ratification a constitutional amendment limiting the President to two elected terms. Any person who had served for more than two years of another President’s term would be eligible for only one elected term himself. President Truman would not be affected by this latter provision because the amendment excepts the incumbent at the time it was submitted or becomes operative. Eighteen States, exactly half the number required for ratification, approved the two-term amendment in 1947. They were Maine, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, New Hampshire, Delaware, Illinois, Oregon, Colorado, California, New Jersey, Vermont, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Missouri and Nebraska—mostly controlled by Republicans in 1947. The next year only three more States straggled into the fold: Virginia, Mississippi and New York. Last year only the two Dakotas went along. In May of this year Louisiana became the twenty-fourth State to ratify. Congress set March, 1954, as the deadline for approval or rejection. As 13 States defeated or side-tracked the two-term amendment last year, the chances for its adoption by 12 more States to reach the re-

quired 36 before the expiry of the time set by Congress for ratification are pretty slim.

#### ***. . . and democratic principles***

The drive to erect a constitutional barrier to prevent a President from being re-elected to a third term grew, of course, out of opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s breaking of the no-third-term tradition. The men who framed our Constitution deliberately and after exhaustive debate refused to put any limit on the eligibility of a President for re-election. Alexander Hamilton argued strongly in his *Federalist* paper No. 72 against any such limitation. Washington, weary of public life, wanted to retire after one term and did so after two. Jefferson disliked from the beginning the “perpetual re-eligibility” of the President. This opinion rhymed perfectly with his oft-repeated desire to put the cares of public life behind him and retire to a life of study. In retiring after two terms, however, he put the stress on the principle involved, which thereafter became a tradition. As the formality of the Electoral College gave way to the reality of popular election it would have been more in accordance with Jeffersonian democracy to “trust the people” in the choice of Presidents rather than to bind their hands by a two-term limitation. The chief danger of third- and fourth-term Presidents lies in the control they give one man of appointments to the Federal judiciary. This is a real danger. But it exists in almost the same degree when the same *party* is in control for several successive terms. The only check on abuse of one-party control of the judiciary rests with the Senate, which must confirm judicial appointments. The argument that a third-term President can build up too large a support among Federal office-holders is less impressive. Most public office-holders are employed by the States, counties and municipalities. In general, a democratic constitution should leave legislatures and electorates as free as possible to make the political decisions they think best under whatever circumstances may arise. Nothing will be lost if the two-term amendment fails, as it seems likely to do.

#### ***An unimpressive reply***

True to the traditional belief of the Fourth Estate that man-bites-dog stories are always news, the secular press featured recently a pretentious report on Roman Catholic conversions to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The full report, which appeared in the Sept. 17 issue of the *Living Church*, unofficial Episcopal weekly, was believed by the *New York Times* to be “the first statistical compilation ever made by the Protestant Episcopal Church of Roman Catholics formally received into its communion in a given period in this country. . . .” Upon examination of the report, which claims the conversion of 26,242 Roman Catholic laymen in ten years, we find that it includes not only this country and its possessions, but Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. What’s more, the figures are to some extent Gallup-poll estimates. Several dioceses



and missionary districts, it seems, have kept actual records only during the past three, four or five years. The final figure was arrived at "by taking the average of those years reported, and computing the missing years according to the percentage of those years for the whole church." What occasioned this statistical *tour de force*, with its curious concentration on Roman Catholics?

We have felt that the clergy and laity of our Church were sometimes disturbed by the commonly asserted claim that the Church of Rome is making great inroads upon not only our membership, but upon the membership of all non-Catholic communions and denominations, and is seeking thereby to create an attitude of defeatism and submission among the non-Roman Christian world.

The above quotation, taken from the same issue of the *Living Church*, hints pretty broadly at the main reason for that magazine's concern.

### ... to a growing "danger"

The *Living Church* has reason for concern. The *Catholic Directory* reports 119,173 conversions to Catholicism from May, 1949 to May, 1950. The number will increase by hundreds of thousands when modern techniques of convert-making are adopted throughout the country. The September 18 *Bulletin* of the Gesu Convert Guild (Milwaukee, Wis.) tells how successful those techniques can be. The Gesu Inquiry Forum was inaugurated in October, 1945. Total five-year attendance at four series of forums a year was 3,777, of whom 2,206 were Catholics taking "refresher courses" and 1,571 were interested non-Catholics. The remarkable total of 666 of the latter were received into the Church by the four Jesuits who conduct the Forum. "Practically all non-Catholics who have persevered through the instructions have been received," reports Rev. Eugene P. Mullaney, S.J., Director of the Convert Guild and Editor of the *Bulletin*. The Guild, composed of "graduates" of the Forum, meets monthly to strengthen its grasp on Catholic doctrine and to learn to live more fully the life of the Church. We venture to predict that none of the "alumni" of the Gesu Inquiry Forum will help to swell the next statistics of the *Living Church*.

### The Assumption and "unity"

For some reason it seems impossible for Protestant churchmen to make public statements without attacking the Catholic Church. On September 12 Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, addressed the full synod of the Convocation of Canterbury, meeting in London. Speaking on the conflict between the Christian faith and communism, the Anglican prelate took occasion to complain that the leaders of the Catholic Church were making "cooperation with them more and more difficult." The difficulty arises from the alleged encouragement by the Catholic Church of the suppression of other Christian bodies for its own benefit, and

from the recent announcement by Pope Pius XII that Our Lady's Assumption would soon be defined as a dogma. Where the Catholic Church encourages the suppression of other Christian bodies the Anglican prelate seems not to have revealed. This vague and serious charge comes with ill grace from the head of a church which has been the beneficiary of centuries of persecution of Catholics by the British Government. The second charge shows no little confusion of thought. *Cooperation* between believers, which Pope Pius XII has repeatedly called for, is a far different thing from dogmatic *unity*. The great barrier to dogmatic unity among Christians is, of course, the unwillingness of Protestants to acknowledge the one true Church of Christ. The Protestant principle of private judgment is essentially disruptive of religious unity, even among Protestants. Harping on Our Lady's Assumption, as if that created an insurmountable barrier to unity, seems very picayune. There is no barrier at all to cooperation between believers in the defense of religious freedom and of moral standards in public life—except the barriers raised by churchmen like Dr. Fisher.

### Prayers for peace

On September 17, at a meeting of the American Association for the United Nations in New York City, Warren R. Austin, American Ambassador to the United Nations, urged all Americans to pause at 3 p.m. on September 19—the hour of the Assembly's call to order—and "offer up their prayers for God's blessing upon the UN and for a peace with liberty and justice for all men." Ambassador Austin conceded that his suggestion was made at the urging of Quaker, Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish and Catholic religious leaders, telegraphing him on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee, the Federal Council of Churches, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Synagogue Council and the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Despite the headlines filled with news of war and preparation for war, there is a heartening wave of prayer sweeping America. Notable is the prayers-for-peace movement connected with the name of Hervé L'Heureux, head of the State Department's Visa Division. His suggestion that all Americans offer a one-minute prayer at noon each day was first made at a Legion Post in Manchester, N. H., less than two years ago (cf. *AM.* 3/11, p. 656). Since then, more than 1,550 organizations, including almost half of the veterans' groups, have endorsed the idea. Word-of-mouth propaganda has carried even further the suggestion that Americans thus acknowledge their dependence on God and their need of His guidance and strength in the crisis the nation and the whole world now faces. The Catholic War Veterans will launch on October 5 a world-wide Crusade of Prayer for Peace with novenas at fifteen famous shrines on six continents. Every American Catholic should pray for peace every day. And there is no better prayer for the purpose than Our Lady's Rosary.



## WASHINGTON FRONT

American delegation sources in close touch with the conferences of the Big Three Foreign Ministers and the North Atlantic Council gave this advice a number of times during the meetings: it may be there can be no public announcement at this time of flat agreement on a combined Western European army, including German units. But this would not mean that fairly good understanding had not been reached.

That seems about the situation today. At the meetings' end, some foreign Ministers still had reservations about the working of the combined North Atlantic Powers' army and more particularly on the inclusion of Germans. But there seemed a general tendency to acknowledge that these goals will be reached.

There is no doubt that the boldness of the American approach—the Truman offer to place American troops on European soil in peacetime—was a jolt to statesmen accustomed historically to a slower way. They must consult their governments. As politicians, they must try to be sure that their people are ready to go along with them.

But what about the American people? This is a truly historic step Messrs. Truman and Acheson propose to take. To what extent have they consulted with people in Brooklyn and Butte whose sons will make up new divisions going overseas? Very little. Mr. Acheson met with members of the Foreign Relations Committees before heading for the New York conferences, and there seemed general support for what he told them of his plans. But these committees had no authority to commit the Congress.

This reporter has spent the last week covering the Foreign Ministers' meetings, and happens to believe that what the United States proposes is probably right and inevitable if the West is to have the military strength to check Communist aggression. But with Foreign Ministers of other countries so concerned about sounding out their people before going further, isn't public debate worth considering in this nation?

Certainly, such debate would be obscured by isolationist demagoguery and would produce a lot of politically inspired nonsense. But that is the way of representative government. And this way assumes that, given the facts, the people can penetrate the demagoguery and come up with their own decision. The alternative could be a "Papa knows best" attitude at the top, determining historic decisions with as little recourse to the will of the people as possible.

The North Atlantic Council is to reconvene in about two weeks. Mr. Acheson's hope is that an announcement of further progress on the Western European army will come then. In any event, our delegation believes that final agreement on the subject will come in the not too distant future. CHARLES LUCEY

## UNDERSCORINGS

On September 16 the Xavier Society for the Blind celebrated its golden jubilee with the blessing of its new headquarters (154 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.) by Cardinal Spellman. Founded in 1900 by the Rev. Joseph M. Stadelman, S.J., the Xavier Society makes Braille transcriptions of Catholic reading matter for free distribution to the blind. In recent years it has also been producing Talking Books. The growth and work of the Xavier Society were described in *AMERICA*, June 4, 1949, in an article, "Xavier's Lamplighters."

► Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J., Editor-in-Chief of *AMERICA* from 1936 to 1944, and since 1947 president of Loyola College, Baltimore, has been relieved of the responsibilities of the latter office to enable him to devote his energies to a field in which he has done outstanding work—research into the history of the early Jesuit missions in Canada and the northern United States. Those who have read his books on Isaac Jogues (*Saint Among Savages*, 1935) and Jean de Brébeuf (*Saint Among the Hurons*, 1949) will be looking forward to Fr. Talbot's future work.

► The annual James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice will be conferred this year, in New York City on October 29, upon the Hon. J. Howard McGrath, Attorney General of the United States, and Lou Montgomery, former Boston College football star, present statistician for the Royal Typewriter Co., and president of the Hartford, Conn., Catholic Interracial Council.

► Miss Lillian McGuire, of the *AMERICA* business staff, this week completes twenty-five years of service with the America Press. She is in charge of our fulfillment department. The editor of "Underscorings" joins with the rest of the *AMERICA* staff, editorial and business, in offering to Miss McGuire sincere felicitations and gratitude for a quarter-century of faithful work.

► The Federal Communications Commission has set October 30 for oral argument on a request by the Baptist General Convention of Texas for permission to operate low-power FM radio stations for religious broadcasts. The FCC questions whether the setting-up of "a specific category of religious broadcast stations" may not be a violation of the First Amendment.

► On September 14 the diocese of Seattle, Wash., celebrated the centenary of its foundation, May 31, 1850, as the diocese of Nesqually, under Bishop Augustine Blanchet, the see being then at Vancouver, Wash. The change of name and see to Seattle took place in 1907.

► Britain's associations of Catholic trade unionists will form a national federation on October 1. The purposes of the federation parallel those of our own Association of Catholic Unionists (ACTU) — to interest Catholic workers in becoming union members, and in upholding Christian principles within their unions. C.K.

## Red China and the UN

Although India's latest effort to seat the Red Chinese regime in the UN was defeated in the opening session of the Fifth Assembly on September 19 by a vote of 33 to 16, with ten abstentions, the matter is far from settled. The delegates subsequently approved a Canadian resolution calling for the appointment of a committee to study the whole problem of accreditation, including that of the Chinese delegation. We may therefore expect that pressure will now be focused on this committee and especially on the U. S. delegation, which is represented on it, to approve the seating of the Peiping puppets.

That pressure will be exerted not only within the committee by the Soviets, who are also represented, but from the outside—and in more subtle ways. We have in mind particularly the efforts of Thomas J. Hamilton, UN correspondent of the N. Y. Times, whose editors permit him an unusual amount of editorializing in his news stories. Mr. Hamilton opposes American policy on Chinese representation, as these samplings from his report on the opening session of the Assembly go to show:

Before coming to New York Mr. Acheson gave members of Congress a pledge that the United States, which has not recognized the Communist regime, would continue to oppose its admission to the United Nations. However, some of the most astute delegates remain convinced that the Soviet Union does not want Communist China admitted for fear this would give it freedom to maneuver, and believe that the United States should revise its policy.

Note that not Mr. Hamilton, but some of "the most astute delegates" feel that way. He concludes:

The vote yesterday indicated that the opposition to the admission of Communist China is weakening, and some delegates believe that, unless the Peiping regime intervenes meanwhile in Korea or Indo-China, or tries to invade Formosa, it has a good chance of being admitted by the end of the present session.

Again it is "some delegates," not Mr. Hamilton, who so believe.

One of AMERICA's editors covered the session of the UN at Flushing Meadow. He heard Percy C. Spender, head of the Australian delegation, deliver a masterful reply to the plea for Red China made by India's Sir Benegal Rau. Later, in the delegates' lounge, he heard on all sides comments indicating that Mr. Spender's address was the most significant of the session. *Mr. Hamilton did not so much as mention this address in his story.*

Is that honest reporting? Mr. Spender presented arguments completely validating American opposition to the seating of the Red regime. Thanks to Mr. Hamilton, no member of Congress, indeed no American who was not present at Flushing Meadow on September 19, will ever learn of them from the New York Times.

AMERICA can do no more than report a few of Mr. Spender's most telling points. "Is the fact," he asked,

## EDITORIALS

that a nation is controlled by a particular government, or that it commands the obedience of its people and that it is the only functioning government, sufficient to justify the members of the General Assembly introducing that nation here? I would venture to suggest that a moment's reflection would suggest the answer must be unquestionably "No." I say that, because if our minds go back over the last ten or fifteen years, Hitler's regime, at the time we were fighting it, could have satisfied every one of these criteria. Indeed, had North Korea overrun South Korea . . . it too could have said after a small passage of time "We satisfy these criteria and we therefore are entitled to admission to the assembly of nations." . . . It must be a nation that is prepared to advance the cause of peace in accordance with the objectives of the Charter.

We commend Mr. Spender's complete speech to any American policy-makers who may be overawed by Mr. Hamilton's "wave of the future."

## Britain nationalizes steel

The decision of the British Labor Party—which Parliament ratified by a vote of 306 to 300 on September 19—to proceed at this time with the nationalization of the steel and iron industries is hard to explain or justify.

Since the outbreak of war in Korea, British politicians have tended to bury their differences in a common desire to arm the country against the gathering storm of Soviet aggression. Though no formal truce was declared, the leader of His Majesty's Opposition made it clear that the Conservatives would wholeheartedly support the Government's rearmament program. Might not the controversial decision on steel shatter this unity?

Furthermore, many Labor Party supporters have been lukewarm toward the steel project. Only a few weeks ago, the Trades Union Congress took the stand that, since nationalization is only one among many means of directing an economy toward social goals, the possibility of other types of controls ought to be explored. Under the circumstances that resolution seemed pertinent to the steel issue. If the absence of strikes is any criterion, the dominant union in the industry has been satisfied with working conditions prevailing under private ownership. There has been no serious trouble in steel since the war, though there has been plenty of trouble in some of the nationalized industries.

Neither has there been a production problem. The following table speaks for itself:

	Production target (tons)	Actual output (tons)
1947.....	12,500,000	12,724,000
1948.....	14,000,000	14,876,000
1949.....	15,250,000	15,552,000

In deciding to go ahead with the steel bill, the Government cannot have been influenced by questions of productivity and labor-management relations.

Was it concerned, then, with fulfilling its 1945 commitment to nationalize?

We wonder. The results of the election last February were such that the average man would surely see in them a release from the five-year-old pledge to take over steel. The Labor Party was returned to power, but with its margin over the combined opposition of Conservatives and Liberals cut to a precarious seven votes. It was actually re-elected by a minority of the popular vote. Since the Party could speak for only a minority of the people, it was generally understood at the time that it would postpone controversial issues until the electorate had another chance to express its views. Any other course might lead to the dissolution of Parliament and a new election, which neither of the major parties wanted.

Why, then, did the Attlee Government adopt a policy which was divisive, indifferently supported by many of its followers, and politically risky?

The answer to that one we don't know. We know only that Mr. Attlee and his colleagues must answer for their action not merely to the British people but to all their allies in the common resistance to Communist aggression. If the nationalization of steel slows British rearmament, the Labor Government ought to fall.

## Parents and sex instruction

In an editorial, "Teach the parents to teach sex," AMERICA observed last year (8/27/49, p. 555):

Sex instruction, as far as possible, must be kept where the very nature of the family demands it be kept—in the home. But not all parents know how to go about it. They, far more than the children, are embarrassed; they don't seem to know the proper vocabulary or the proper psychological moment. Therefore, the simple and quite obvious solution would seem to be to place the overwhelming emphasis not on teaching children the facts of sex, but on *teaching the parents how to teach them.*

Who should sponsor such a project to teach parents how to teach their children the meaning and mechanics of sex? In Bridgeport, Connecticut, the Board of Education is shouldering the responsibility.

Concerned about the rise in juvenile delinquency and mindful of pressure to introduce courses on sex instruction for children into the public schools, Bridgeport's Board of Education last April approved a program of instruction for parents to be administered by the Adult Education School. Board member Paul H. Cullinan announced the details of the program on September 13. Parents, teachers and other adults are invited to a series of six monthly lectures, beginning in

October, to be given by authorities in the fields of family counseling, child psychology and parent education. Mr. Cullinan indicated that the support of religious, educational and civic organizations will be enlisted to promote interest in the course.

The Bridgeport program would seem to be an earnest effort of responsible educators to aid parents to perform their personal and divinely-assigned job of explaining to their children the significance of sex. The Bridgeport program will inevitably suffer, however, from the unhappy necessity imposed on all public-school education—the by-passing (and, hence, the effective denial) of the religious approach. In consequence, it can only offer—even from a pedagogical point of view—an incomplete approach. Because it is connected with the origin of human life, sex is sacred. Only against the background of the meaning of human existence, as taught by religion, can any parent answer with full accuracy the small child's first question: "Mummy, where do I come from?"

No such stultifying ban against religious ideas affects the activities of the Catholic Family Institute of New Rochelle, N. Y. Tackling the problem of teaching parents to teach children the meaning of sex, the Institute—a service of New Rochelle College to the community—discussed last year actual situations that confront parents. The experience of fathers and mothers in finding the correct (and truthful) words and the proper spiritual context in answering the questions of children of different ages was put in dialog form. After criticism and further suggestions from the members of the Catholic Family Institute, the model dialogs were edited, dramatized by a professional cast and recorded by RCA. The phonograph records, along with an instruction kit, are being distributed by the Christophers (18 East 48th St., New York City), the organization that bore the expense of the recordings.

Here is a project that definitely "lights a candle" amid a darkness that calls for the full illumination of Catholic truth to help the faltering steps of hesitant, fumbling parents.

## Denham goes

On one point President Truman and Robert N. Denham, late general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, were in agreement. In acceding to the President's request that he resign his office, Mr. Denham wrote that the conflict between himself and the five-man NLRB had created "a situation that should not be allowed to exist in a Government agency occupying so important a part in its influence on our industrial economy." To this Mr. Truman heartily assented.

For the rest, the President and the general counsel he appointed three years ago obviously and painfully disagreed. Mr. Denham stoutly affirmed that in his conflicts with the majority of the Board he had proceeded according to the letter and spirit of the Taft-Hartley Act, and had been invariably right. By firing Mr. Den-



ham and keeping the Board, the President plainly implied the exact opposite.

Some of Mr. Denham's troubles, as the President noted, arose from the Taft-Hartley Act itself. By setting up an autonomous office of general counsel and giving to it full power to investigate, process and prosecute unfair labor practices, the law made conflict inevitable. The general counsel, for instance, might decide, as Mr. Denham did decide, that labor disputes in small companies which had little or no effect on interstate commerce came under the Act. If the Board, unwilling to extend Federal power so widely, disagreed with the general counsel, as it did, an impasse was reached for which there was no solution in the Act. Mr. Denham could investigate and try to prosecute, but the Board could nullify his work by refusing to hear and decide his cases.

There was similar conflict with respect to such questions as non-Communist affidavits and union-shop elections in the construction industry. Mr. Denham refused to service unions whose officers had complied with the non-Communist oath provision of the Act unless the officials of the federation with which the union was affiliated were also in compliance. The Board decreed that such a union was in compliance and therefore entitled to the Board's services. Again, convinced that union-shop elections were impractical in the construction industry, Mr. Denham declined to apply the pertinent section of the law in that field. The Board took the stand that the general counsel had no authority to emasculate the Taft-Hartley Act in this way. In these cases, also, the controversy could not be resolved within the Board.

That is what the President meant when, in his letter accepting Mr. Denham's resignation, effective September 18, he wrote that the provision for a two-headed agency "creates an administratively unworkable arrangement which invites confusion and conflict between the general counsel and the Board."

It seems clear that the President, as the executive ultimately responsible for the working of the law, had to let Mr. Denham go. It is not so clear that sound administration required that the general counsel be dismissed *at this time*. Since the labor unions are bitterly opposed to Mr. Denham, Senator Robert Taft, who is up for re-election this year, scored a point when he charged that the President was playing politics. No doubt he was.

On the other hand, by charging that the President fired Denham solely to appease the CIO, Mr. Taft was playing politics, too. He meant to leave the impression that only the CIO, and not the AFL, was opposed to Mr. Denham. Mr. Taft hopes to pick up a few AFL votes in November. He also knows that among Ohio farmers an attack on the CIO is well received.

As we have noted before, the Taft-Hartley Act was largely the product of power politics. For the latest proof of this, we give you the dismissal of Mr. Denham and the circumstances surrounding it.

## ***The Pope speaks to Catholic artists***

The first International Congress of Catholic Artists, held during the second week of September, brought 300 artists and art authorities from twenty-three countries to Rome.

Uppermost in the minds of most of the delegates was the query: would this unique world meeting help to clarify the problem of modern, contemporary art production in its relation to the ideals and principles of the Church?

Is the Catholic Church, for instance, so wedded to traditional art forms that all a Catholic artist can do is to repeat the styles or cling to the identical materials used in the past? Or can the Church make use of some of the techniques and methods of the most famous contemporary artists, in the attempt to portray her teachings or beautify her houses of worship? May a dividing line be placed between the type of art product which is capable of speaking in original, yet thoroughly Christian, accents and that which is a mere mystification, a bewildering amalgam of esthetic and intellectual trickery?

Such a dividing line was suggested by the Holy Father when he received the members of the Congress at his summer villa in Castelgandolfo. Genuine art, said the Pope, must have a truly expressive value, must, in a word, "manifest the feeling and reveal the soul of its author."

If a work of art needs to be explained with verbal language it then loses its value of expression and serves for nothing but to provide to the senses a physical pleasure which does not surpass their level, and to the spirit, a subtle and empty play.

It should likewise raise the soul "above petty things and fleeting troubles towards the eternal . . . towards the only true God."

With these two important provisos, the artist was left free "in the face of a culture without hope, to consider art as a source of new hope." No restrictions were suggested as to styles or methods. The Holy Father's mind was still further revealed when he graciously conferred, with his own signature, a blessing upon the Liturgical Arts Society, of New York City, for its work towards bringing a "living art" into the service of the Church.

In contrast to a considerable amount of lifeless art that was featured among a few first-rate productions this summer in Rome's much advertised *Ars Sacra* exhibit, the magnificent Mission Exhibit, across the street from *Ars Sacra*, demonstrated how art can be made to live in the service of Christ's Church, and yet conform fully to the two prerequisites laid down by the Pope.

The Church speaks to all peoples and times in their own language, whether it be the language of words or the language of art. The next International Congress of Catholic Artists, already being planned for, will doubtless address itself to the study of this great task.

# The Vatican's role in international law

Robert A. Graham

WHEN ARCHBISHOP PHILIP BERNARDINI signed the Red Cross Conventions of 1949, in the name of the Holy See, at Geneva on December 8 of last year, something new was added to twentieth-century diplomatic history. For the first time since 1870—when the Papal States were abolished and even the papal palaces were declared the property of the Italian State—the Holy See participated on equal terms with other sovereign bodies in an international diplomatic conference called to settle questions of world-wide scope. Perhaps even more newsworthy is another feature of the gathering. In that conference, called by the Swiss Confederation to draw up conventions for the International Committee of the Red Cross, fifty-eight states were represented, among them Soviet Russia—and the USSR did not object to the representation of the Holy See.

The systematic exclusion of the Pope from international conferences from 1870 to 1929 is too well known to need lengthy review here. Since 1929—when the Lateran Treaty restored papal sovereignty to the territory included in Vatican City—the Holy See has been represented in several meetings involving questions under international law. Such participation, however, has been limited chiefly to matters of a technical nature relating to the needs of the state called Vatican City. Vatican City is a member of the Universal Postal Union and of the International Telecommunications Union. It has, in addition, adhered to a number of public-law conventions of limited character, as well as to conventions in the field of international private law. The Vatican is admitted, but only in an observer's capacity, to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Seldom, if ever, has the Secretariat of State of His Holiness thought it worth while on such occasions to send an envoy of the ambassadorial rank of nuncio.

In the larger arena of international accords, however, there has been no representation of the Papacy for almost a century. In 1899, for instance, the Pope was excluded from the Peace Conference of the Hague, upon the insistence of the Italian Government; and the resulting treaty was declared "closed" to prevent the Holy See from adhering subsequently. The same policy was repeated at the second Hague Conference in 1907. In the secret agreements of London of April 26, 1915, Great Britain, France and Russia supported Italy's opposition to any move to invite the Pope to future peace negotiations. (This document first became known to the world when published by the Bolsheviks, who found it in the Czarist archives after the

*In view of the present controversy over U.S. diplomatic relations with the Holy See, the following article has special pertinence, revealing, as it does, the unique position of the Vatican in international affairs and the services it can render. Father Graham, AMERICA's wandering Contributing Editor, was an observer at the Geneva Conference.*

revolution.) No representative of the Holy See was invited to the Genoa conference for the reconstruction of Europe, held in May, 1922. To present to that conference his views on religious freedom in Soviet Russia the Pope was obliged to adopt an awkward and roundabout method. The Papacy had not taken part even in the Geneva Conventions of the Red Cross in 1906 and 1929.

The settlement of the "Roman Question" in 1929 put an end to this exclusion. Although, by the terms of the Lateran Treaty, the Holy See stands above international political disputes, the accord paved the way for normal international activity by the Holy Father in matters proper to the mission of the Holy See. Agreements concerning religious and humanitarian questions are so definitely within the Papacy's field, and the humanitarian and neutral nature of the Red Cross Conventions are so clear, that not even Soviet Russia suggested that the Holy See be excluded from the conference called to draw up the 1949 Conventions. The deliberations on means to protect both military and civilian persons from unnecessary hardship and suffering in time of war afforded the Holy See a legitimate occasion to exercise its moral and spiritual power.

## DUAL DIPLOMATIC PERSONALITY

Immediately after the signing of the Lateran Treaty Professor Anzilotti, former President of the Permanent Court of International Justice, pointed out that in the person of the Pope there are two subjects of international law: the Pope as head of the Catholic Church, and the Pope as sovereign of the Vatican State. In which capacity the Pope was represented at Geneva is something that the Red Cross Conference did not feel called upon to discuss. In fact, however, the Apostolic Nuncio representing the Pope signed the convention for the *Holy See*, not for the Vatican State.

The Holy Father was invited to the 1949 Geneva Conference on the grounds that the Papal States had adhered to the first Red Cross Convention of 1864. What were the motives that inspired the Holy See to accept the invitation and to take part in the long negotiations that lasted from April 21 to August 12 of last year? While it is no longer beyond the realm of possibility that in the next war—if there is one—the Pope's own Swiss Guards might be taken prisoner or the neutrality of Vatican City violated, these were not the considerations which prompted acceptance of the invitation. Nor was there any question of exercising political influence through the meeting. The present Pontiff has too often made clear that he has no wish

to take part in political entanglements. The freedom of action of religious and humanitarian organizations might well, however, be jeopardized in a coming war, and to ensure a solid basis in the new conventions for such freedom was the principal mission of the Papal delegation. It is true that the same aims had been incorporated into the recommendations of the nongovernmental agencies at the preparatory conference in Stockholm the previous year, and were included in the draft proposals presented to the Geneva delegates on the first day. But the Holy See, as a later participant at the governmental level, was in a position to suggest additional guarantees, or to defend existing drafts threatened during the four months of debate.

Four wartime problems loomed large in the minds of the papal representatives at the Geneva Conference: 1) religious assistance for prisoners of war and the wounded, and for civilian internees; 2) facilities for religious worship; 3) access by religious and humanitarian agencies from neutral quarters; 4) the situation of military chaplains and medical personnel if taken prisoners. On the first three questions, agreement was more readily obtained than on the last. Finally, after long delay, it was agreed that military chaplains and medical personnel taken with captured units should not be considered prisoners of war. So long as they remained in enemy hands they would still have the possibility of attending people in need of their services outside of the camps, in outlying points of detention or in hospitals.

#### RECOGNITION OF GOD

On only one important point did the delegation from the Holy See fail to win accord: its proposal that the name of God should be mentioned in the preamble to the Conventions.

On May 25, spokesmen for the Holy See pointed out that the Conventions would not have all the force and validity required if the source of our natural rights were not mentioned. He accordingly proposed that "a reference should be made in the preamble of the divine origin of these rights, by mentioning the name of God." The representatives of Monaco, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon and the United States (A. E. Clattenburg) at once spoke in support of the project. Shortly thereafter the American delegation submitted a draft preamble, whose first paragraph read:

Respect for the personality and the dignity of the human being, arising from his divine origin, constitutes the fundamental principle of his civilization, which is universally binding upon all his fellows, even without any contractual undertaking . . .

Subsequently, to meet the objection that this formula in effect demanded a profession of faith, a compromise formula was arrived at:

Respect for the human person and his dignity obliges even without any contractual undertaking. The religions proclaim his divine origin and the peoples recognize this principle as one of the foundations of all civilization . . .

It was expected that this simple declaration of an historical fact would prove acceptable. The delegate of the USSR, however, criticized it on the ground that "abstract ideas" had no place in a practical document, pointing out (quite truly) that the Soviet Union had not raised any objections to the other proposals of the Holy See for the religious interests of the protected persons.

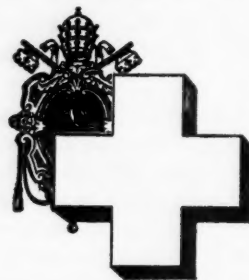
At this point a suggestion was made that was not without its dramatic qualities. The President of the Conference, Swiss Federal Councillor Max Petitpierre, asked the Nuncio to meet privately with General Slavine of the USSR to search for agreement. And so the representatives of Pope Pius XII and of Josef Stalin found themselves face to face, discussing the fundamental questions on which they were farthest apart. The tête-à-tête was without positive results. The Soviet official was unable, or unwilling, to comprehend that the compromise formula simply attested an unchallengeable fact and was not a profession of faith.

In the end it was decided to suppress the preamble entirely and to bury with it the embarrassing situation created by the proposal of the Holy See. The incident has its lesson. It would be sheer self-deception to imagine that resistance came only from the Soviet group. Many representatives of Western European civilization, from the New

World as well as the Old, concealed their indifference or hostility under the camouflage of procedural maneuverings. For Americans it is gratifying to know that the United States continued to support the Holy See's proposal throughout—though with diminishing enthusiasm. The cold welcome given the proposal that man's divine origin should be mentioned, even obliquely, in a humanitarian project like the Red Cross Conventions is a sad reflection on the present state of the moral conscience of nations—or at least of their official representatives at international conferences.

The Holy See does not consider that its one failure warrants repudiation of the Geneva Conventions. Archbishop Bernardini is reported to have told another delegate after the ceremony of signing: "Let us hope Almighty God will forgive us for our cowardice."

In spite of the above misgivings, the Holy See has reason to be satisfied with the work of the diplomatic conference, the essential aim of which has the full sympathy of the Pope. It has demonstrated to itself and to the international community how it can employ for the welfare of all mankind the independence it gained in 1929. As a sovereign authority under international law it was able to take part in the final negotiations on an equal footing with the other invited states, at a stage when the formal role of other humanitarian and religious agencies—even the Interna-





tional Committee of the Red Cross itself—had terminated. By way of contrast, the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the International Refugee Organization and other international organizations were invited merely as observers. The Holy See was, in effect, the spokesman for the many other nongovernmental agencies working for humane ends.

Fifty-eight governments have obligated themselves, by signing the Red Cross conventions, to carry out the provisions incorporated into them. In time of war the conventions encourage the belligerent nations to entrust to impartial and efficient organizations (like the Red Cross) the humane tasks undertaken by the agreements. More than that. In case a nation is occupied and cannot act for itself, the occupying Power is obliged to invite, when necessary, neutral humanitarian agencies to take over the role of protector. Switzerland, as the birthplace of Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross, and as a traditional neutral in wartime, has become the accepted headquarters of these humanitarian services. It is unlikely that the Holy See would or could undertake the role exercised so brilliantly in the past by the International Committee of the Red Cross. However, should Switzerland itself ever become engaged in war, with repercussions on

the neutral standing of the Geneva Convention, this theoretical possibility might become a reality.

The late war has demonstrated that the Holy See can perform certain types of relief work usefully, and a solid juridical foundation for carrying on such work has now been laid. In this connection might be mentioned the wartime Vatican Information Office and the postwar Vatican Migration Bureau, whose present director, Father Edward Killion, the American Redemptorist, was a member of the Holy See's delegation at Geneva.

The new accords signed at Geneva do not imply a surrender to the idea of the inevitability of war. So long as there is any possibility of war, however, responsible authorities must leave no stone unturned to protect humanity from itself. What the Holy See was able to secure, or to preserve, at Geneva, it secured and preserved for all the humanitarian and religious agencies of the world. If non-Catholics in the United States sometimes find it hard to understand why a diplomatic link with the Holy See is desirable, they might reflect on the unique position the Pope holds among the moral authorities of the world. The international representatives gathered at Geneva recognized that position—to their gain.

## Haiti today

*Agnese Dunne*

COLUMBUS DISCOVERED La Isla Española (Hispaniola) on December 6, 1492, when he landed at what is now Môle St. Nicholas, Haiti. On Christmas Day one of his ships, the *Santa Maria*, was wrecked near the site of the present city of Cap Haitien. There he established La Natividad, the first European settlement in the Western world.

"This is the fairest land under heaven," wrote Columbus of his first love among his discoveries, the little island he had named La Isla Española. Land of contrast, too, is this Hispaniola of the Spanish, this Saint Domingue of the French—land of culture and illiteracy, fertility and aridity, hot days and cool nights.

To a citizen of the United States who is accustomed to complete equality with his fellow-man, the most striking evidence of inequality in Haiti, the western third of the island, are the marked class distinctions, noticeable particularly in the capital. The vast majority hold no hope of escaping the poverty into which they were born. The élite, from one to three per cent of the population, are born to a life of leisure and culture. Moneyed, fluent in several languages, they are as much at home in New York and Paris as they are in Port-au-Prince.

An intelligent and growing but still infinitesimally small middle class is, however, keenly aware of the

need for social justice. Under the direction of the Rev. Yves Pouliquen, the Young Catholic Workers, in particular, are active. In their monthly paper, *Jeunesse Ouvrière*, they take a forthright stand on current social and economic problems of the country.

A few statistics may give a clearer idea of the situation.

The area of Haiti is 10,714 square miles, or slightly larger than that of Maryland. However, in comparison with Maryland's 1,679,000 population, Haiti's is approximately 3,500,000. "Approximately," because as yet there are no accurate statistics. From August 7 to 19, a census project was undertaken this year, the first made in Haiti. A hundred office workers trained by the United States Census Bureau and forty machine operators were prepared to tabulate the results, which I have not yet received at the moment of writing.

Thirty-eight questions are included in the questionnaire under three categories: housing, population, agriculture. There are two questions on yaws, a contagious tropical skin disease common in the mountainous limestone areas, where there is an acute water shortage. The American Sanitary Commission (with the Haitian Government supplying three-fourths of the funds) is at present working on the problem of yaws. It is a disabling disease, but only a secondary cause of death.

*Columbus' "fairest land under heaven" is today no paradise for most of its people, reports Agnese Dunne, who visited Haiti from July 8-27 this year, but improvement is on the horizon. Miss Dunne, a Wisconsin teacher on exchange in Britain, 1947-48, is a frequent contributor to the Catholic press.*

If it reaches an advanced stage, the victim usually dies of tuberculosis.

Yaws clinics are proving of great value, but the problem probably will not be solved until an adequate water supply is everywhere available. When people must trudge four and five miles over mountainous terrain during the dry season to get water, carrying the precious stuff in large gourds on their heads, they use too little to maintain health and sanitation.

The Public Health Service is also faced with the prevalence of malnutrition among the poor. While fruit and vegetables are abundant and inexpensive, there is a lack of sufficient dairy products and meat in the average diet.

#### EDUCATION, ECONOMICS, GOVERNMENT

In another field—education—Haiti is well aware of the need for combating its high rate of illiteracy. One-seventh of the national budget is being spent on education. French, the official language, is taught in all schools. However, the local French patois, Creole, is universally spoken, and is the only language of the illiterates. Of recent years a written phonetic Creole has been produced, which is used with success in teaching older illiterates. A four-page Creole newspaper printed by the Department of Adult Education is made available to them at no cost.

The Church is playing a major role in helping Haiti conquer illiteracy. Priests and brothers of four orders, and sisters of eight orders—French, Canadian, Belgian, Italian, American—are educating 22,987 pupils in elementary and 2,582 in secondary schools, as well as some 10,000 in rural Church schools. Approximately 5,000 attend private schools directed by lay teachers who also give Catholic instruction.

"Do you consider Haitian educational standards comparable to those of the United States?" I asked Sister Thérèse, formerly of Maine, now teacher of English at Sacré Coeur in Port-au-Prince.

"Definitely," she answered. "Those who are in school are receiving a very good education, though the French system, which Haiti has adopted, differs from the American in that it places more emphasis on classical learning. The discipline, too, is more formal. Less consideration is given to physical education, and none at all to student self-government."

Education is free through college in Haiti, but as yet it does not begin to reach out to all the people. Educators are in general accord with M. Arsène Pompée, former director of secondary education, who feels that the curriculum should be adapted more specifically to Haitian needs. "It is too academic for an agricultural country," he stated.

Every year more than a hundred young Haitians do advanced study in the United States. The U. S. Department of State grants three scholarships, while

many others are available to outstanding students through foundations.

With French magazines and books unavailable during the war, and all travel to—and study in—France suspended, American influence has increased of recent years. Nevertheless, probably no place in the world is more strongly French than Haiti. As Ensign André Toussaint of the Haitian Coast Guard, who has done graduate work in the United States, remarked: "France is dear to the hearts of Haitians. Her Government offers many scholarships to our students. No color bar is drawn against us."

Among the educated people there is marked interest in music, art and literature. Numerous Haitian writers have achieved recognition in France, and in recent years the work of Haitian artists, particularly of those who represent the primitive school, has become known abroad.

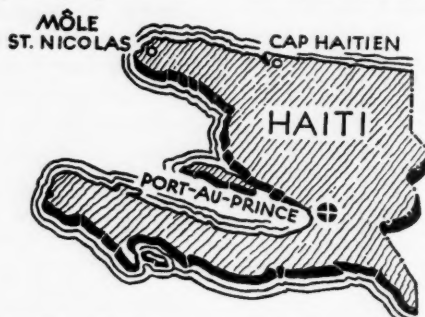
It is in the fields of agriculture and industry that many of Haiti's unsolved problems lie, and these are now receiving some attention. Marbial, in southern Haiti, is the seat of UNESCO's first Pilot Project, intended as a demonstration of

how best to develop a backward region. For a year and a half an anthropological study was carried on, financed by Haiti and UNESCO. Actual work began only a year ago, but the general opinion seems to be that results to date do not justify the time and money expended.

Soil erosion, industrialization, dairying, unemployment, road construction—all are problems facing the present Government. When I discussed with American Ambassador William De Coursey the need for applying President Truman's Point Four program to Haiti, he commented: "In reality, the Point Four program has been in operation here for many years." As examples of Haitian-American co-operative projects he cited the construction of a pumping-station at Miragoane to bring water to thousands of parched acres; the development of rice production at Bois Dehors; the initiation of a program to bring the lower valley of the Artibonite into full production.

When Haiti achieved independence in 1804, the leaders rewarded loyal followers with the only thing available—land. Since then, Haiti has been a nation of small farmers, each raising but little more than family needs require. There are few large holdings. Except for sisal, bananas and sugar cane, there is no mass production. Bananas, coffee, cacao, logwood, cotton, sisal, raw sugar and rice are exported to a value of approximately \$30 million a year. The United States buys about 60 per cent of Haiti's exports and supplies some 80 per cent of her imports.

At present Haiti is being governed in a unique manner. The constitution provides for a Presidential term of six years. A President may not succeed himself. It became evident last spring that President Elie Lescot



would exert pressure to have the constitution amended so that he might be re-elected.

On May 10, Antoine Levelt, Commanding Officer of the Military Academy, along with Franc Lavaud, Brigadier General and Chief of Staff, and Colonel Paul E. Magloire, Commander of the Palace Guard, took means to see that the constitution was respected. They deposed the President and temporarily took over the governing of the country.

"The Junta government is not a military regime in the usual sense of the term," explained M. Levelt, who is now serving his country as Minister of Foreign Relations, and who, incidentally, is a graduate of Fort Leavenworth, where he ranked first in his class. "Civilians hold all other key positions. There is complete freedom in Haiti." And, indeed, that is true.

The Junta has appointed an advisory committee of twenty-five recognized authorities in many fields of Haitian endeavor. This committee meets three times a week to consider public matters raised by the Junta and to formulate written recommendations based on the fruits of their discussion. An example of the type of men who serve on this committee is Dantès Bellegarde, author of numerous books on Haitian affairs, former Ambassador to Washington and Paris, and delegate at the League of Nations.

Sentiment all over the country seems very strongly to favor Colonel Magloire as the next President. Well known even in remote rural regions, he has also a good military record. "He is not a candidate, but if the entire country should call upon him, he will probably not refuse," M. Levelt continued. "So far, no opposing candidate has arisen. The Colonel would welcome another candidate. He would then know whether or not he is really the people's choice."

Meanwhile the Junta is attempting to overcome the social barriers between the people and to unite the classes. "We have cut expenditures. We are paying off current debts within the Administration, and are arranging to pay off any international commitments. Progress is satisfactory so far." Brave and honorable words that fall strangely on the ear this year of 1950.

"We are a small country, with a small economy," concluded M. Levelt. "We believe it is our first duty to clear the board financially. We will then hold a free election, after which the incoming Government will have a free hand to regulate policies."

In the matter of religion, sad to say, Haiti is only nominally Catholic, owing to the appalling shortage of priests—one to every 10,000 people. A total of 290 foreign and 50 native priests, supplemented in their efforts by 107 teaching brothers, 500 foreign and 150 native sisters, are attempting to teach Catholic faith and morals to these baptized but largely uninstructed people.

The Haitians are not wholly to blame for their sad spiritual state. Detribalized on being brought as slaves from Africa, they lost their former strict, though pagan, moral codes. Although the colonizers had all slaves baptized, they kept them illiterate, refused to permit

them to marry, and in the slave marts completely disregarded family ties. Further, from 1804, when Haiti achieved her independence, until the Concordat with the Holy See was signed in 1860, there was not one priest in all Haiti in communion with Rome.

France is very generous in helping Haiti religiously. Over a hundred of the present priests hail from Brittany. Seven years ago Rt. Rev. Bishop Louis Collignon, O.M.I., and thirty-five other Canadian and French-American Oblates from the Lowell, Mass., Province entered the mission fields of Haiti in the diocese of Les Cayes. In addition to doubling the workers in some parishes, they have constructed a school for 500 boys, begun a banking cooperative, and built a junior seminary from which the first class of eleven young men will graduate next spring. At present they are planning a major seminary, a crying need.

It is encouraging to note that as the oases of practical Catholic life are expanding, vocations are increasing. Mission-minded American Catholics would find the supporting of one of these deserving young men through his major seminary course a most worthy outlet for their zeal.

Haiti is a fair and lovely land with a past both glamorous and tragic. God grant her a brighter future spiritually and materially!

## *It depends on the parents*

*Billee Eckert Martin*

THE TALK TURNED on juvenile delinquency. Several recent flagrant cases were cited from the papers.

"I often wonder about the parents in such cases," one woman commented. "How do they take it? What do they say or do, when they find out . . . ?"

I had heard the same speculation voiced many times before. I had wondered myself, and since my husband is a lieutenant of police in the Central district of this large Midwestern city, I decided upon a bit of close personal research into the subject. The Central district, incidentally, is the large downtown police district, and handles by far the greatest percentage of this city's juvenile offenders.

The lieutenant, like myself, is fond of kids, and I more than suspect that in spite of years of dealing mainly with wrongdoers he still harbors the sustaining belief that the little people are, by and large, fundamentally and basically good. I suspect, although I'm too wise to meddle with his inner convictions by pinning him down to a statement, that he believes that those who err, in slight degree or great, are the hapless



victims of what he would call "bad breaks." In his mind a "bad break" could be a broken home, lack of spiritual guidance, deprivation of the normal pleasures and comforts of childhood, an actually sick mentality, or, possibly, wrong companions or associations.

"What do they say," I asked him, "these parents of boy and girl malefactors, when they learn of their children's dereliction?"

The Lieutenant studied for a moment, then answered: "Well, you see, when we are holding a juvenile for some crime, the first thing we do is to contact the parents and ask them to come at once to the station where the youngster is being held. Many times, surprisingly many times, they are folks of excellent, even high standing in the community. Not always, of course. But it doesn't make too much difference."

Here he paused, seemed lost in thought. Then he continued: "The reaction is nearly always the same, generally speaking."

Again he paused, an almost brooding look upon his face.

"Yes?" we prompted him.

"What is the reaction?"

He scowled. "Well, when we tell them that Junior has stolen a car, or been involved in a burglary, or that Sissy has gotten herself involved in some sort of a disgraceful and illegal scrape, and then confront them with Junior or Sissy, as the case may be, the first thing they say, in the great majority of cases, is 'Oh, Junior,' or 'Oh, Sissy, how could you do this to us?' Or words to that effect. Apparently, the first thought they have is of the disgrace or disappointment it has brought to them. They don't seem to realize that the youngster has done something pretty serious to *himself*, as well."

"I can see what you're getting at," I offered. "You are implying that the fundamental attitude of many parents toward their children is not exactly a selfless one. Is that right?"

"Selfless!" he snorted. "Their attitude is out-and-out a personal, selfish one, and I'm inclined to believe that somewhere along the line that is at least a contributing factor to the 'delinquency' of the youngsters."

"They've got a perverted sense of values," he went on. "I guess that's what you'd call it. They so often say, 'And after *all we've done for you!* All we've given you!' One father said, 'I've handed you life on a silver platter. You're nearly eighteen, and you've never had to work a day in your life. I had to go to work when I was twelve! Why have you done this to me? I've given you everything. . . .'"

"Could you have answered him?" I inquired.

"Yes, I think I could have," the Lieutenant replied with spirit. "I could have told him his boy might have been a lot better off if he had not had life 'handed to him on a silver platter.' Perhaps if he had had to work

for some of the things he got, if he had had to sweat to earn his own things, he'd have had more respect for the property of others.

"Anyhow, there are a lot of things these parents are *not* giving their kids, for all their desire to do so well by them," he insisted earnestly.

"What, for instance?" I asked.

"Well, proper home atmosphere, for one thing," he came back. "And companionship, some of their time and interest, as well as easy access to the check book. And fundamental training. Discipline. Discipline is a mighty important thing, you know. No army in the world is any better than its discipline. And every child needs to be taught discipline, right from the start. Without discipline, children are apt to be nonconformists, crooked sticks, always wanting to go the opposite way from the rest of the sticks in the pile. When they come into our hands, then it's rather late. Then they've got to learn it the hard way."

"Church?" we suggested. "Religious training?"

He smiled wryly. "You're forgetting that these are modern times, and many modern parents do not believe in 'forcing' such things on children. Most of them are left pretty much to their own devices on that score. And. . . ." His voice trailed off unhappily.

Then another thought struck him. "Oh, yes, another thing," he exclaimed. "After the parents have finished tearing their hair

about what Junior or Sissy has done to *them*, the next thing they invariably do is jump to make some excuse for them, to offer an alibi. They blame it on the company that Junior or Sissy was keeping. They cry, 'I just *knew* when you started running around with that crowd that you would get into trouble?' Or, 'It was that Jones boy, or that Smith girl.' And so on."

"Escapists still?" I mused.

"Yes," the Lieutenant answered. "That's it. Running away from the facts, to the very end. First they scream 'Don't blame *me!* It isn't my fault!' Then, after they cool off, they offer, if not justification, at least extenuation for their child's having gone wrong. One more gift on a silver platter. 'It's not your fault, either. It's someone else's fault. They made you do it.'"

"Do you ever try talking to the parents, try showing them their error?" I inquired.

"Gosh, yes, right along the line. But it seldom registers," he answered. "Some of them resent interference, but most of them just simply don't seem to get it. And the funniest thing is that their performance is so paradoxical. They'll lambaste Junior or Sissy orally for letting them down, for disgracing them, then they'll move heaven and earth to buy Junior or Sissy out of the scrape, if they can. Money, again. They'll pay for the damages, make restitution for the theft, compensate for the injury, just to avoid prosecution."



"You've been talking about juvenile and adolescent offenders from comparatively well-to-do families," I pointed out. "What about those from poorer homes?"

"Well," he observed, "in an awful lot of the cases the basic attitude is still the same. The 'How could you do this to us?' slant, I mean. You see, even the poorer families often do just as much for their children, comparatively. They will sacrifice, in order to give their young ones the material advantages.

"But here's a point I want you to get," he added seriously. "In an awful lot of these cases, from all walks of life, but I think more often in the higher-income group, the youthful offenders themselves seem to have their eyes tragically opened. What I mean is this—when Mom and Pop come in, yelling their heads off about 'You've disgraced us—you've ruined us socially,' and so on—I feel sorry for the kids. You can tell that they expected something a lot different. Kids are pretty sharp, you know. And I believe that a lot of them meet sudden and bitter disillusionment. I've actually had them say to me: 'My folks aren't worried about me. They're only worried about how it will affect their standing.'"

"I've heard the blame for juvenile delinquency laid at a lot of different doorsteps. You seem to place it pretty squarely on the parents," I ventured.

"Not always," he countered. "Not always. Sometimes you're pretty puzzled for the answer. Take the case we handled recently involving James Pivac and Herbert Bonner. These are two boys, seventeen and eighteen, whose home is in New York. James stole his father's savings, some five hundred dollars, and the two went out West. They had a gala time as long as the money lasted. With the last of their funds they purchased revolvers. Then they staged a two-man crime wave, committing holdups that were spread over several States.

"Heading back east, they were picked up here by some of my officers and booked on suspicion, since they were carrying pistols. They confessed voluntarily, and readily. James said they had suddenly repented of the whole business, did not want to continue on in their career of crime, but were anxious to return home and 'square' themselves with their parents. According to James' story, they were seeking a Catholic priest when they were arrested. He said that they had intended to confess to a priest, and ask advice and aid. Both boys were Catholics. They were nice-looking, neat, polite, well-mannered—it was hard to think of them as anything but very nice boys. And yet they admitted to numerous hold-ups, with loot, which they spent, running into the thousands.

"You remember the case, I imagine. It was some time ago. The boys were extradited, of course. I was quite interested in them while they were in my custody, especially James. I simply couldn't figure out what could have made a seemingly fine boy like him go off on a criminal tangent that way. When I spoke of his parents he broke down completely. He said he could take anything, face anything, but that he

couldn't bear to think of what he had done to them. He said it would break their hearts.

"I'll confess I wondered what sort of people they were. Well, I found out. This letter came today, addressed to me. I suppose they got my name from the newspaper accounts of the case."

He held out a letter.

Dear Sir:

We have received the saddest news of our lives the day when we were informed about the crimes committed by our son James.

This we never expected from him. He was always a good boy, quick, and polite at home. His mother and I want only one thing—to help him, but we don't know what to do. If possible we beg of you to kindly inform us what we could do to help him.

We have no experience in any court procedures, so we ask you for any help you possibly can give in advice, and also your honest opinion to us, his sorrowing parents—is there any hope to salvage our boy?

Could you please send a priest to the boy?  
Thanking you from the heart,

Yours,

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pivac.

When I could control my voice, I said to the Lieutenant: "So that's the other side of the picture, hmm?"

By mutual accord we dropped the subject, then, but I was glad, several days later, when my husband informed me that he had, quite unofficially, of course, composed as honest and comforting a letter as he could, and sent it to James Pivac's parents. He said he had told them everything good he could about the boy, that he had assured them that their son had spoken constantly and lovingly of them. He told them too that the boy had immediately asked for, and had seen, a priest. He mailed the letter to the parents with a prayer that it would help them in some small way in their grief for their son.

He heard no more from them for several months, and the case was pushed from his mind. But at Christmas time he received a beautiful Christmas card, and an exquisite miniature religious calendar. Written on the card were the words: "God bless you for your kindness to our boy when he most needed a friend. We remember you in all our prayers, just as we pray for James, our son, Most sincerely yours, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pivac."

Now, when I hear that familiar question about juvenile delinquents, "I wonder how the parents take it?" I make at least a mental comment: "It all depends. It all depends on the parents!"

---

(Billee Eckert Martin, wife of Police Lieutenant Martin of the Central District, a large downtown (and slum) area in St. Louis, Mo., is a professional writer of radio scripts, fiction, articles and poetry. The Pivac case in her article is an actual case in local police files. Only the name has been changed.)

### *Heredity*

I met a man today . . .  
At first I said: He's Irish, for he has an Irish way:  
A sympathy and friendliness that warms you through  
and through.  
And then I thought: Oh, no, he's not; he really is a  
Jew,  
Those eyes so dark and eloquent are eyes of Israel,  
Like those of Peter, maybe—or, perhaps, Emmanuel.  
He stood there with a quiet grace, so slim he was and  
tall,  
I knew he was an Englishman, and not a Jew at all.  
And yet, his skin was very fair. A German he could be,  
Or Viking, such as those who set their ships against  
the sea.

His hair was dark with mystery of India, Japan,  
His courtesy was China's own; his dignity, Iran.  
And he had teeth so white I knew a Negro smiled  
at me,  
Until the music of his voice spoke soft of Italy.  
Oh, I was most confused . . . I saw the desert land  
again,  
And Arab hospitality encamped upon the plain.  
I saw a certain Russian strength, and from the Danube  
shore,  
A spirit that had suffered much to keep the Cross he  
wore.  
Here was a Spanish artist, a philosopher from France;  
A gay and charming Islander, a hero of romance.  
I met a man today and he was marvellously fair.  
He really was a Child of God. He came from  
everywhere.

ANNE C. JOHNSON

### *Poet's song for martyrs*

Lucy, Agnes, Dorothy.  
Poet-martyrs, martyr maids,  
Bound within a litany.

The marketplace is stirring;  
There's a clatter in the street  
As Lucy walks toward heaven  
With sandaled steps and fleet.

A beggar-boy is laughing;  
A blindman jeers;  
And a mother's voice is crying  
To have pity on her tears:

"Lucy, there shall be the sword, and the great beasts  
wild;

Fagots in the marketplace, high and higher piled;  
And fire is a dreadful pain, O Lucy-child, my child!"

But her heart was hid in heaven  
And she could not hear their plea;  
Poet-martyr, martyr maid  
Who died in Sicily.

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

If Agnes were to say the word—  
(Your wide child's eyes and your long child's  
hair)—

If Agnes were to say the word  
There'd be no pain to bear.

And "Yes" is such a little word  
That any child can say,  
But Agnes would not turn her feet  
From off her lonely way.

"Behold, behold, the Bride is here; I pray you, cut the  
cord  
(I keep my Bridegroom waiting) with the sharp stroke  
of your sword,  
For I will have no love but Love, O Jesus-Love, my  
Lord!"

And so the lamb was slain;  
All crimsoned was the lea.  
Poet-martyr, martyr maid  
Whose years were ten-and-three.

"Dorothy, the dreamer,  
Dorothy the fool."  
But her spirit joyed within her  
With a flame that would not cool.  
For Dorothy the lover,  
Dorothy the wise,  
Was dancing toward a vision  
With heaven in her eyes.

"Love the life, Love the death, Love the song I sing;  
You shall have what you desire from the garden of  
the King,  
And you shall see His beauty in the flowers I shall  
bring."

The measure of her promise  
Was fulfilled with constancy;  
Poet-martyr, martyr maid,  
So died Dorothy.

All a poet's symbols in the splendor of your death;  
All a poet's longing in the last catch of your breath;  
Light and Lamb and Gift of God—pearls in silver  
filigree—

Poet-martyrs, martyr maids,  
Lucy, Agnes, Dorothy.

MOTHER M. DENIS MAHONEY, O.S.U.



### **Baptism of my brother Isaac**

To the church of the Gentiles  
where a Jewish Child is awake on the hay,  
the Hebrew comes for the Water of Life.  
He is Isaac with the ancient wood bouquet  
for sacrifice upon his back.

Beside the *prie dieu*, on the little table  
are the ewer of water, the salt and the oil.  
Like a lumined capital upon an early bible  
the single candle sends a foil  
of light into the lack.

Another Father Abraham comes down  
with the timeless ritual in his hands.  
The blade of his stole lies on young Isaac's shoulder  
and turns to a ribbon of grace that brands  
him clean and innocent.

On the hilltop of the altar steps  
the priest prays down the demon's lunge;  
pours the bright water on the Jewish head;  
chrisms the brow with a spray of sponge  
in the sacrament.

### **Voice in the wilderness**

#### **WHY WAR CAME IN KOREA**

By Robert T. Oliver. Fordham University Press. (Declan X. McMullen Co., Distributors). 260p. \$2.95.

The free nations of the world were shocked on June 25 when the Soviet satellite government in North Korea hurled its armed might over the Thirty-Eighth Parallel, thus laying the possible groundwork for World War III. Not so Robert T. Oliver, who has lived on intimate terms with the Korean question since 1942 as counselor of the Korean Commission in Washington and to the Korean Delegation to the UN at Paris and at Lake Success.

For eight years, in various magazine articles, Dr. Oliver had both warned and pleaded. He warned that Russia's aim in Korea was incorporation of the little country into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He pleaded for United States recognition of the Korean Provisional Government prior to the Yalta Agreement. Had we heeded this plea, Korea might never have suffered its artificial division at the Thirty-Eighth Parallel. But even then we were fearful of offending Russia. As time went on and Russia solidified her position in North Korea, it became evident to Dr. Oliver that Korea would eventually be the crucial test of "Russian-American ability to solve their differences peacefully." June 25, 1950, proved that he was right.

How did Korea come to be the testing ground for the first clash of arms between the Communist empire and the Western democracies? *Why War Came in Korea*

enumerates six reasons: 1) Korea occupies the heart of the strategic Siberia-China-Japan triangle. History has proved that whoever has controlled that triangle has been able to subjugate all North Asia. 2) For at least 75 years Korea has been a prime objective of Russian foreign policy. 3) Immediately at the close of World War II, Russia proceeded to build up a politically and militarily strong puppet regime in North Korea. 4) Conversely the United States, obsessed with the idea that it had to "prove" to Russia and all Asia that it had no imperialistic designs on Korea, left a militarily weak South Korea which invited attack from the north. 5) Official and unofficial spokesmen for United States foreign policy announced time and again that we had no intention of defending the Republic of Korea. 6) The remarkable democratic success of the Republic of Korea was an unanswerable refutation of Communist propaganda in Asia and one that was much resented.

Successive chapters treat these reasons in greater detail against the background of turmoil that has been Asia's lot since the end of World War II. That Russia has been able to capitalize on the seething discontent, while the Western allies have found it a stumbling block, has not been due to greater intelligence on the part of the Soviet. Dr. Oliver makes it clear that Soviet expansionism has been accomplished by "a deceit and ruthlessness which the *mores* of the United States, Great Britain and France could not encompass." On the other hand, he does not fully absolve the Western Powers for their unmoral attitude.

And Isaac walks down the church aisle blindly,  
blindly,  
eyes staggered with peace. I AM WHO AM  
vaults in every doubtful footfall, while his fingers  
reach numbly for the promised ram.

SISTER M. MAURA, S.S.N.D.

### **Sonnet**

Shattered, O Lord, is each enclosing wall.  
Thou hast burst through this church on every side.  
Demanding beams to part and rocks to fall,  
Demanding entrance vaster, rooms more wide  
Than eyes can offer or the mind contain.  
How shall a low-roofed thought admit Thy height?  
And how shall tongues announce Thee, who explainest  
A guest whose radiance has lit the night?

At beggared hearts, why dost Thou stop and stay,  
Stooping to enter that low wretchedness  
Which owns no prideful furniture—display  
Of its own wealth and wit and food and dress?  
For now—as when a poor barn welcomed Thee—  
Thou shalt be housed in each heart's poverty.

GLORIA T. STEIN

## **BOOKS**

We could and did practise the softer forms of deception, which consist in looking the other way to avoid seeing unpleasant facts (which has characterized most of our dealings with Asia); of telling only conveniently selected segments of the truth (as in the White Paper on China); and of trading off the rights of other peoples on the presumption that the "greatest good of the greatest number" would be served (as in the Yalta concession of Chinese territory, railways and ports).

Korea is simply part of the over-all pattern of our foreign policy. We recognized the menace of communism for what it was in Europe, but looked the other way while the same menace threatened the Far East.

The impact of *Why War Came in Korea* comes not so much from the fact that the book establishes Dr. Oliver as an astoundingly accurate prophet whose voice went unheeded in his own country. Its importance rather lies in the fact that it offers a clearly defined warning for the future. The lesson of the book is that weakness and hesitancy in dealing with the Soviet Union will not protect the free world from Communist imperialism. Such methods failed in Korea where a firm stand taken several years ago would have averted the present crisis. They will fail again wherever the democracies are brought face to face with the Soviet juggernaut.

VINCENT S. KEARNEY

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**Adventures in brotherhood**

**NEIGHBORS IN ACTION**

By Rachel Davis DuBois. Harper. 294p. \$3

It's naturally pleasant to speak of a book which tells about your next-door neighbors. I mean literally neighbors, for the people Mrs. DuBois writes about live right on New York's West 108th Street, where this reviewer resides, and on the adjoining blocks: people of Jewish and Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Negro-U.S. and West Indies—and many other national or racial origins, including many of "old-line" American stock. Their children sit on our doorstep; they throng the nearby Riverside Drive.

Father Charles Keenan, my colleague on the AMERICA staff, should really do the talking, for he has helped Mrs. DuBois in her wonderfully organized neighborhood projects. She quotes at length his sage remarks and notes that "Father Keenan was invaluable in helping non-Catholics to understand the ways of their Catholic neighbors as well as their attitudes toward Catholics." However, here are a couple of my own observations concerning this very practical little "manual for local leaders in intergroup relations."

*Neighbors in Action* is a triumphant answer to those who believe that a "mixed" community cannot develop real solidarity. It proves, through the experience of a very patient and intelligent woman, that such extremely disparate groups of people as those in our own West Side Manhattan vicinity can do more than merely put up with one another. They can discover a real sense of community, and find it not in some artificially constructed scheme, but in the ordinary, basic interests of home and family. "There is something more than toleration," says the author. "That something more is not merely the dropping of prejudice; it is the adding of intercultural appreciation." This appreciation she achieved by joint meetings of mothers, along with their young ones, who learned to discuss, without self-consciousness or formality, the beauty and dignity of the cultures which they themselves represented, as well as the deep, fundamental interests which they found they had in common. They learned that it was not "emotionally healthy to cut ourselves off completely from the traditions and customs of our ancestors . . . that although we each partake of the same basic American character, yet we are each conscious of belonging to some subcultural group."

To accomplish such understanding, certain techniques were used, which the author minutely describes. Two of these were particularly successful: the "home festival," built around some imaginatively appealing season of the year, and a sort of progressive family party, the idea of which was furnished by the Puerto

Ricans. These led up to intimate conversations around such topics as "What makes a home? What makes a family? What are things families do?" etc. Thereby an indirect but powerful blow was aimed at the evil of racial and national prejudices.

"Little miracles" of understanding and fellowship were thereby achieved; yet the author is careful to make no excessive claims for her techniques. She does not assert that they can penetrate to the deeper roots of social and spiritual division. They are, however, "mildly therapeutic."

Mrs. DuBois, herself a Quaker, makes scrupulously clear that comparison and mutual appreciation of differing religious folk-customs—such as Christmas or Easter celebrations—does not and need not imply comparison of religious beliefs as such. She proposes no interfaith program, but merely an intercultural one. Yet, with all this, Father Keenan and I are a bit puzzled as to how, in the long run, the religious comparisons can be kept out of the picture. This, of course, is a crucial problem of intercultural projects. I don't think it is insoluble, but the complete formula has not yet been achieved.

Mrs. DuBois' success in bringing people together *without* an appeal to the deeper and really ultimate springs of human conduct makes one regret that more of this type of work has not been done by those of us who can rest our efforts upon such a basic moral and religious appeal. The techniques described in this book are of wide application and full of meaning. Any Catholic working in a mixed community will profit by a careful study of *Neighbors in Action*.

JOHN LAFARGE

**Breath of evil**

**THE CASE OF COMRADE TULAYEV**

By Victor Serge. Doubleday. 306p. \$3.

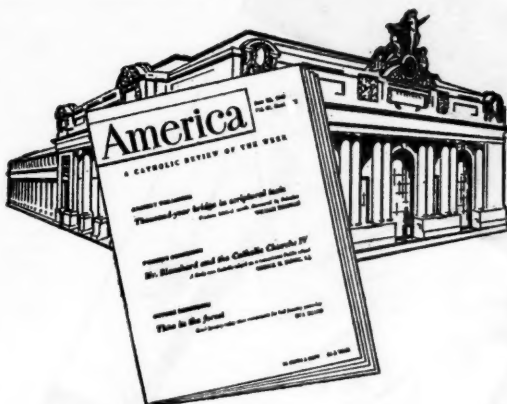
While novels on Communist Russia have been many, very few have been distinguished. *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* is an exception. It throws a searchlight on the human hell of Soviet Russia, where men without faces live precariously in their desperate attempt to depersonalize an entire society. The fetid breath of evil, hate, fear, confusion and treachery blows out of every page as the sordid story of a liquidation program moves along from character to character.

Two obscure Russians begin the fury. Romachkin, a dreamer, purchases a gun. Kostia, his younger neighbor, uses it on Tulayev of the Central Committee. The assassination is used as an excuse for removing potential undesirables. Erchov, an adroit hunter of men, falls first. Kiril Rublev, a clever scientific historian, falls next. Clumsy, dull-witted Makeyev follows. Kondratiev, the agent in Spain, is brought home. After the men have been

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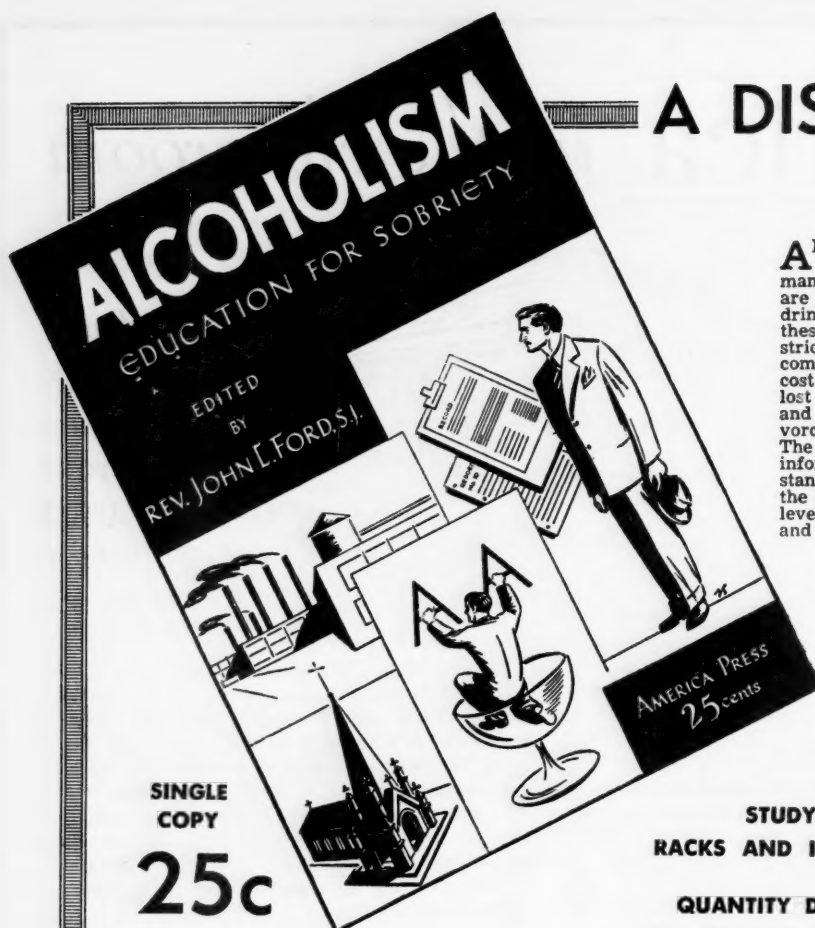
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broken, the trials begin and sentences are passed. Rublev escapes by a successful hunger strike which ends in death. Kondratiev's friendship with the Chief wins him the reprieve of obscure exile. Even the prosecutors begin to fall victim to the machine's appetite for human lives. Popov finds himself on the way to extinction because of his daughter's admiration for Rublev. In the meantime, Roinachkin wins a promotion, Kostia finds a wife and the Party gears itself for war.

As this story unfolds, the essential diabolism of this abortive faith in the Mammon of Party leaps into bold relief. Iniquity holds sway. The cause is everything; men are nothing but chips on the checker-board of the Soviets.

Victor Serge has X-rayed a story in a vivid and impressionistic manner. He knew of what he wrote, for he was an enthusiast for the Revolution, and also its victim. Although he remains aloof from his story, he is constantly at work highlighting the idealism of the persecuted.

The highlighting does not, however, hide a truth, which any attentive reader will grasp. The idealism of Soviet Russia, the idealism of Party, the idealism of Revolution is a diabolical fanaticism that discounts man and God while it feeds on broken minds and bodies.

There are no heroes in this story. Black and white depend on the ideological position of the observer: the men observed are equally black in their ruthless faith. They may be graced with wit and cleverness, but they are stripped bare of the grace of God. NELSON W. LOGAL

## PILGRIMS OF THE NIGHT

By Edward E. Swanstrom. Sheed. 114p. \$2.50.

Every fourth person in the Federal German Republic is homeless. More than half the budget of Chancellor Adenauer's Government goes to cover the cost of social welfare—largely in behalf of this human cargo, these "Pilgrims of the Night," heartlessly dumped on the burdened German economy.

These are the Expellees, numbering nearly 12 million, driven from their ancient homes by international action of the victorious Allies at Potsdam. Peoples of Germanic origin living in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, it was decided, were to be sent back "in an orderly and humane manner" to the fatherland of their ancestors. Potsdam set the pace. Soon the *Volksdeutsche* who had lived for centuries in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Pomerania were driven toward the German and Austrian borders. It was, says the author, as though the United States descendants of the first settlers from England and Holland were driven back to English and Dutch communities precisely because their ancestors in some rather remote past originated there.

The expulsions were by Allied action. The care of the Expellees was to be the responsibility of Germany's private and public welfare agencies. No international organization cares for them, though their present plight is the result of a brutal international arrangement. They have been herded into a truncated Germany (three-fourths its former size), its agricultural areas taken, 40 per cent of its housing destroyed or damaged, its social life disorganized. The Expellees are the victims of a theory of collective guilt that seemingly did not die with Hitler in the bunker of the Reichskanzlei. It is a theory—and, more hideous, a plan—that drew a strong protest from the American bishops in their 1940 statement that declared:

Something has been happening in Europe which is new in the annals of recorded history. . . . We boast of our democracy, but in this transplantation we have perhaps unwittingly allowed ourselves to be influenced by the herd theory of heartless totalitarian political philosophy. . . . No lasting peace can ever come from the violation of the dignity of the human person.

The same year, the World Council of Churches added its protest, troubled about the probability that the plan would "bring ruin, not only to Germany, but to Europe."

Few are in a better position to describe the present plight of the Expellees than Monsignor Edward E. Swanstrom, Executive Director of War Relief Services-NCWC, the official agency of American Catholics in repairing the ravages of war. Monsignor Swanstrom's book is a series of vivid sketches of the Expellee women bravely endeavoring to hold their families together, prettying up the hovels they live in; of the lost children and the wandering youth (there are 300,000 jobless boys between 14 and 24 among the Expellees); of the priests on bicycles, caring for the millions of new Catholics; of the workers living in the former slave-labor camps of Salzgitter, watching the dismantling of the industries where they had found work.

Monsignor Swanstrom has some practical suggestions to offer. There must be, first of all, an open recognition of the Expellees as an international problem. Funds will be needed for rehabilitation and relocation of these millions. Artisans have been dumped into agricultural areas while technicians are working on farms—everyone living where some kind of housing is available. Self-help enterprises and housing cooperatives must be encouraged. Planned emigration must be organized. And contributions of voluntary aid must not slacken for a moment.

Perhaps the listing by name and place and date of ordination of 2,700 priests, uprooted—though charged with no crime—will impress Catholics with the proportion of the problem. (Of the diocese of Ermland, for example, 40 per cent of the priests are dead or missing.) Perhaps the

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figure of 1,300,000 Germans fleeing from the East Zone into the Federal Republic in one year will win the attention of the politicians. Certainly Monsignor Swannstrom's detailed description of the lot of the Expellees (fifteen per cent died in the first year of their "orderly and humane" treatment by the Allies) should be in every American's mind as he prays that God will be on our side.

EDWARD DUFF

## THE DESIGN OF DEMOCRACY

By Laurence Stapleton. Oxford University Press. 301p. \$4.

Writing from a deeply sincere, though secularistic, point of view, Miss Stapleton, professor of political theory at Bryn Mawr, has produced a treatise on democracy as a "way of life" which analyzes its assumptions, political processes and social context. Since the literature on what democracy means is really not very extensive, this addition to it deserves thoughtful evaluation.

Part I deals with "the principles of democracy": equality, freedom and self-government, the latter considered both as "due process of law" and as a political process. The author criticizes, not only Marxists, but the opponents of *laissez-faire* for undervaluing freedom. She refuses to compromise on political freedom in order to achieve desirable economic ends.

As for religious freedom, the author does not believe that evidence available to the human mind "inevitably" points to the existence of a "transcendent God" (p. 209). As a result, she frequently falls into the common error of making democracy itself a religion to which other religions "must" conform (e.g., p. 203). One wonders why political scientists—like sociologists, psychologists, *et al.*—so often let themselves lose the perspectives of their own fields and move into highly theological discussions where their incompetence is glaringly obvious.

The first thing a writer should know is the boundaries of the discipline in which he or she has specialized. There is something omniscient about this book which weakens it.

Miss Stapleton's discussion of human rights, however, is highly interesting. Although she does not want to speak about "natural rights," she finds fault with those who have attacked this idea (pp. 80ff). She wants to conceive of human rights as "drawn from experience." Yet she thinks it possible and desirable "to think of experience as including certain constants, 'eternal objects,' or, if you will, continuing possibilities of form in nature" (p. 81). She rejects the pragmatic notion that the character of law derives from force (p. 76).

Part II, "The Context of Democracy,"

relates democracy to economics, literature, religion, knowledge, the international community and world government. Much of what Miss Stapleton says (except on religion) is thoughtful. Like so many advocates of world government, however, she speaks about "convincing" the Russians as if 1) the Malik-type of Communist were open to conviction by democratic persuasion, or 2) we had open lines of communication to the Russian people. A little like Henry Wallace, she asks us to be "generous" in dealing with the USSR—without weighing the many and lamentable concessions we have already made, without a shred of cooperation in return.

Miss Stapleton is well aware of the Russian problem, but not fully aware of it. Unfortunately, her "hoping against hope" has been typical of some very highly placed Americans. *The Design of Democracy* is worth analyzing if we are to understand where American political thinking is weak, and why. A secularist bias obscures the issues dividing the world today. ROBERT C. HARTNETT

## CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

By Robert A. Dahl. Harcourt, Brace. 305p. \$4.

It has long been recognized that achieving democratic control of foreign affairs is one of the most difficult problems of modern representative government. The growing complexities of international relations, the highly technical character of the contacts among states and the inescapable need for secrecy at certain important stages of negotiation and policy-formulation combine to make democratic control of foreign policy more difficult than ever before.

Congress is, in the United States, the body chiefly concerned with translating the wishes of the people into public policy. Yet, by its inherent limitations, Congress finds itself largely dependent in the field of foreign affairs upon the expert advice of the administrative branch, under the control of the President. The surrender of congressional responsibility to the Executive in this major area of public policy leads directly and rapidly to executive dictatorship. The attempt by Congress to legislate foreign policy in detail may well lead just as directly and even more rapidly to disaster in war.

The author of this book suggests a middle course between these alternatives. He believes that certain departures from our traditional procedures would bring about closer collaboration between Congress and the Executive so as to permit adequate planning, flexibility and speed in the formulation of foreign policy without surrender of basic democratic values.

The volume is persuasive and moderate in its approach to the problem it discusses, but its style is pedantic and



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couched to too great an extent in the jargon of the social sciences. Abundantly supplied with footnotes and tables, it proposes a solution which is obtainable only through intelligent and directed planning by those engaged in the daily tasks of practical politics. This reviewer submits that the case for such a solution must be presented in far different fashion if it is to receive a ready hearing and to be implemented by positive action.

JOHN MENG

### THE PRODIGAL HEART

By Susan Ertz. Harper. 305p. \$3

Elements of suspense, vivid characterization, and a somewhat unusual narrative make *The Prodigal Heart* a good story. A post-World War II tale set in England, it features Medwin Blair, an attractive young war widow, in her relationship with her employers and with her lover.

The two women for whom she works, though vividly portrayed, are somewhat unconvincing. Perhaps they are not atypical, but they just don't seem to ring true. Their covetousness of the friendship, even affection, of their secretary, Medwin, has a suggestion of the unnatural about it. But that aspect never comes completely to the fore.

Medwin herself is a loving mother to her little daughter; she is a most staunch mainstay of her family; she exemplifies high standards of integrity and independence. Nevertheless, she goes off, apparently *sans* compunction, to spend a short holiday with her new-found lover whom she cannot, at least for the time, marry because he is already married to another woman who, in turn, is having an affair with another man! These entangling *mésalliances* do not, however, result in a complete *dénouement*.

The author knows the elements of a good story, and she knows how to assemble them into a component whole. The flashback to the early life of Miss Lydon, one of Medwin's employers, is a fascinating means of tying various subsequent events together. Descriptions are vivid; characters are alive; events are startlingly real. But the sordid parts are glossed over and garnished so that the underlying business of divorce and forbidden love is subtly inconspicuous. The one lesson taught by the book is the self-destructing power of jealousy. *The Prodigal Heart* is definitely for adult readers. A bird's-eye re-view of it leads one quite naturally to the frontispiece quotation, taken by the author from Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*:

"It is worth the labour—said Plotinus—to consider well of love, whether it be a God, or a Divell, or a passion of the minde, or partly God, partly Divell, partly passion." CATHERINE D. GAUSE

### From the Editor's shelf

**WOMAN'S SURGEON: THE LIFE STORY OF J. MARION SIMS**, by Seale Harris, M.D., with the collaboration of Frances Williams Browin (Macmillan. \$5), is the readable and fascinating biography of the eminent American doctor, the "Father of Modern Gynecology." The material is well handled, the language of the book is such as may be understood by adult non-medical readers and the whole is a deft combination of science and history. Catherine D. Gause says: "As a piece of Americana the book is monumental, and its confines extend beyond our own country to Britain and the Continent, where Sims became equally well known and sought after."

**PRINCIPLES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY**, by Clement S. Mihanovich, Ph.D. (Bruce. \$2). Into the six chapters of the book, Dr. Mihanovich has condensed a vast amount of research data on this very current problem. James F. Moynihan, S.J., has found that the author does not make any new contributions to the subject, yet his digest of the material from other sources and his observations from the Catholic point of view make the text worth while. It is recommended as excellent collateral reading for those who are taking courses in social pathology and clinical psychology.

**CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA, NEW TESTAMENT**, by John E. Steinmueller, S.T.D., and Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J. (Wagner. \$9.75). For priests, teachers and laymen who want ready answers to the questions that arise in connection with the New Testament, the present volume is invaluable. Besides giving information on every person and place mentioned in the New Testament, it discusses topics referred to in the fields of dogma, ethics, apologetics, history, archeology, language and geography. Reviewer William A. Dowd, S.J., praises the diligent and painstaking scholarship of the authors, the simple, clear style of the writing, and the satisfying and attractive format that is a special feature of the complete text.

**NO TIME TO LOOK BACK**, by Leslie Greener (Viking. \$3), the story of a group of English soldiers in a Japanese prison camp, is told in the person of the Anglican chaplain. The main characters are Grieve, an artist, and Andros, a mysterious amnesia case, who, through his gentleness, strangely affects the men in the camp, bringing them peace and hope. In the opinion of James B. Kelley, the book is rewarding if for no other reason than that it portrays real people of average intelligence, and not the usual "typical" profane and semi-illiterate soldier of most of the war fiction.

## FILMS

**LOUISA.** Pictures which describe the older generation's inclination to be stuffy about the romantic behavior of youth are a dime a dozen. *Louisa* contrives a refreshing switch on this situation by presenting not one but two younger generations being quite irrationally outraged when grandma takes a new lease on romance. The trouble is that the picture is rarely as engaging as its original premise. Besides the title character (Spring Byington), who is a widow, the cast includes her son (Ronald Reagan), her daughter-in-law (Ruth Hussey), a pair of grandchildren and two elderly suitors, also Reagan's irascible bachelor employer (Charles Coburn) and a very gentlemanly and gallant widower green-grocer (Edmund Gwenn). The complications which ensue before Louisa and the man of her choice are united in holy wedlock are involved enough to defy synopsis. They have as a common denominator, however, a comic-strip conception of plot and characterization which keeps the comedy from radiating much warmth or honesty and causes some rather tasteless distortions. Among other things the picture seems to be defending the right of elderly sweethearts to act just as foolishly as teenagers. Its teen-agers in turn behave in the peculiar fashion common to movie adolescents and no one else on earth. For the family looking for light-weight diversion *Louisa* will probably fill the bill, but it could have been a much better production if a little more ingenuity had been applied. (Universal-International)

**PRETTY BABY** is a frantic comedy of errors set in motion by a girl's ingenious method of assuring herself a seat in the subway rush hour. An unsung clerk (Betsy Drake) in the advertising agency presided over by Dennis Morgan and Zachary Scott discovers that where babies are concerned chivalry is not yet dead. In line with this discovery she commandeers a life-size baby doll from the agency's baby-food display and, carrying it tenderly in an over-sized blanket, thenceforth rides the subway in comfort. Not unnaturally our heroine has named her rush-hour son for the terrible-tempered president of the baby-food company whose advertising copy he once graced, a fact which she confides one morning in transit to a solicitous old gentleman (Edmund Gwenn). As must be fairly obvious, the old man turns out to be none other than the doll's namesake, and he is sufficiently humanized by this apparent mark of esteem to want to contribute anonymously to the little fellow's welfare. This misdirected philanthropic zeal in their

trying client causes the two huckster leading men more headaches and ulcers than his former unlovable state. Cross-purposes, misapprehensions and out-and-out deceptions follow one another thick and fast. With only one joke on which to play variations, the picture becomes increasingly labored, but *adults* will probably find the first half of the picture quite amusing. (Warner)

**MY BLUE HEAVEN.** Anyone not passionately and unselectively fond of babies should be warned that this Betty Grable, Dan Dailey and Technicolor musical is full of them, with a scene-stealing white pooch thrown in for good measure. In between production numbers, the stars, who play a happily married radio and television team, are endlessly preoccupied with having a family. They lose a baby of their own, attempt without success to adopt one through an agency, and then through black-market channels. On the theory perhaps that there can't be too much of a good thing, the bathos and slapstick-laden finale finds the couple prospective parents three times over, twice by adoption and once in the more conventional way. The song-and-dance interludes are typically lavish and rather coarse, and the talents of David Wayne and Jane Wyatt are wasted in an effort to keep the plot together. (20th Century-Fox)

MOIRA WALSH

## THEATRE

**CORN SHORTAGE.** The world changes, as someone has said, and it is inevitable that the theatre should change with it. To the theatregoer who remembers as far back as, say, Earl Carroll's *Vanities* or George White's *Scandals*, one of the less desirable changes is the decline, indeed the virtual disappearance, of nonsense theatre.

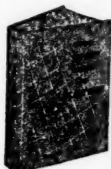
There are times when one is not in the mood for a story or a play with a message, and the mind is too lethargic to follow even the skeletonized plot of a musical comedy. At such times, in the first quarter of the century, there was an abundance of light entertainment that was always convenient. The managers of the Keith & Proctor and Orpheum circuits, the Pantages wheel and the far-flung Loew chain had planted a vaudeville theatre or variety house in every large town, practically in every neighborhood in the bigger cities. Any day, from mid-afternoon to early evening, a man and his wife—or his girl friend, if he had not achieved matrimonial status—could enjoy two or

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The usual program, or bill, as it was called, included one or more singing acts, comedians working singly or in teams, acrobats and a motion picture. In the neighborhood theatres, animal acts were frequent, to encourage parents to bring the kids along. It was clean entertainment that was practically free of leers and off-color jokes on the stage and blushes in the audience.

What I remember most vividly are the legions of first-rate comedians who toured the variety circuits. They were specialists in all types of colloquial comedy, and their sole aim was to make an audience laugh. Most of them were proud of the fact that they harbored no aspirations to appear on the dramatic stage. They were gag artists, monologists and character comedians who apparently never wanted to be anything else. Their material was what young people nowadays call corn, but it was always refreshing and helped an audience to relax. Our theatre would be in a healthier state if there were more comedians able to produce that kind of "corn."

Unfortunately, first-rate comedians seem to be vanishing faster than Indian-head pennies and Democratic newspapers. One would have surmised that radio would have created a demand for comedy talent far larger than the requirements of the old vaudeville theatres, but what happened was just the opposite. Instead of employing a large number and a wide variety of comedians, the radio networks compete for the services of a dozen outstanding performers. Every advertising agency wants Jack Benny, Fred Allen, Jimmy Durante or Bob Hope. Today the comedian must sell soap or floor shellac or cigarettes or a soft drink with more bounce to the ounce. The old-style comedian sold nothing but his own jokes, and he needed no Hooper rating to tell him if his merchandise was in demand.

The ranks of the old guard comedians included every type of fun merchant from dead-pan gag men like Lou Holtz, Gargantuan liars like Jack Pearl and gentlemen clowns like Harry Richman to philosophical humorists like Will Rogers and Bert Williams. Every one was a superb stylist and, in his own line, an incomparable entertainer. Below them were battalions of lesser zanies, not mere imitators, but professional loons who were not quite good enough in their class to be best.

While few of them hankered for legitimate casting, the comedians of yesteryear constituted a pool of talent that was always available when the producer of a revue was looking for a laugh artist. Ziegfeld, at various times, borrowed Bert Williams, Jack Pearl, Will Rogers and Harry Richman from the vaudeville stage. Contemporary producers looking for a competent comic are confronted with a

corn shortage. Where first-rate comedians were once numerous, they are now few and far between. There are only half a dozen left and all of them are tied up with radio and television.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## PARADE

LIFE BECAME COMPLICATED FOR many during the week, as trying situations enmeshed humans of diverse age-brackets. . . . Even tiny tots were harassed by the trend. . . . In Coffeyville, Kan., a six-month-old baby boy received a call from his draft board. . . . In San Pedro, Calif., a nine-year-old lad spent four hours stuck in a garbage can. . . . Also blown about by the week's social winds were the more mature among the citizenry. . . . In Cedar Rapids, Ia., an elderly man lost his sixteenth wife via divorce. . . . Into some lives double trouble fell. . . . In West Orange, N. J., while a housewife was giving first-aid treatment to the wasp-stung arm of a letter-carrier, her dog bit him in the leg. . . . New social hazards introduced by television were noticed. . . . In Linden, N. J., a clerk who had reported himself too sick for work was seen by his employer on a ball-game telecast. . . . Ultra-modern ways of disturbing the peace were reported. . . . In Los Angeles, police radio-squad cars received the order: "Go to 222 W. 22nd St. . . . television too loud." . . . The strange twists sculptured by circumstances throughout the week were confined to no one twist pattern. Rather, a profuse variety was exhibited. . . . Firemen had red faces. . . . In Richland, Tenn., the fire station and the fire engine were destroyed by fire. . . . Spectacular things happened to used-car drivers. . . . In Auburn, Ind., an autoist got out of his second-hand stalled car just before a westbound train hit it. The flyer carried the car a quarter-mile, then tossed it to the front of an eastbound train. The autoist could see his car whizzing by on the eastbound express. . . . War-stimulated hoarding created scarcities. . . . In Chicago, a speaker told the convention of the Beauty and Barber Supply Institute that hoarding had created an artificial shortage of hair pins. . . . The fast tempo of modern urban life begot distress. . . . In Dubuque, Ia., a man, about to move to a new house, placed boxes, suitcases, lockers full of clothes on the sidewalk preparatory to loading them into his car. When he stepped briefly back into his home, city rubbish collectors picked up the load, hauled it off to the community dump. . . . Judicial precedents regulating bath frequency were established. . . . In Woonsocket, R. I., a judge, while grant-

ing a divorce-seeking wife the temporary possession of the family cottage, decreed that the husband "may return to the above stated residence one day in each week for the purpose of taking a bath." . . . A modern counterpart of the Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe emerged. . . . In Detroit, a wife told the judge that her husband, in proposing marriage, informed her he was a widower with two children. Soon two more showed up; then two more. Finally, three more put in an appearance, whereupon she fled to the divorce court.

For those men and women who are moving in the direction of heaven, the complications of earthly life are merely passing phenomena that will soon disappear forever. . . . In heaven there are no complications, no trying situations. . . . On the other hand, for the men and women who have chosen to move in the direction of hell, the complications of earthly life are but miniature models of the colossal complications to come. . . . In hell there are nothing but trying situations. . . . Hell is complicated living raised to the highest conceivable degree. JOHN A. TOOMEY

## THE WORD

*Son, take courage, thy sins are forgiven* (Matt. 9:2. XVIIIth Sunday after Pentecost).

It isn't far from the subway station to our house. Just about three blocks. But in that short distance you can easily become convinced that all is not well.

I came up into the sunlight the other afternoon, and at the very top of the exit a poster was screaming in crimson from the side of the newsstand: "ATOMIC DEATH." One of the larger picture magazines was advertising a feature article describing the horrors of a possible third world war. There were vivid illustrations of what would happen. I stopped at the stand to get a paper and noticed the headlines said something about sending troops to Europe. In the bookshop window there was a volume about Malik Month in the Security Council of the United Nations. Near the corner at the little open-front market a shrill, small radio was talking about police involvement in a protection racket. The front page of my newspaper described a blistering battle between two nationally known lawmakers in Washington. They were accusing one another of being traitors to their country.

Yes, things look black. But really they are only a familiar shade of gray.

Read the Sunday gospel, as I did. It tells how Our Lord met a palsy victim.

Things looked black for him, too. His friends had carried him on a bed to the house where Our Lord was speaking to His followers.

*Whereupon Jesus, seeing their faith, said to the palsied man, Son, take courage, thy sins are forgiven.*

The Son of God, who is Truth and Light, saw not merely a diseased and tortured body. He saw the whole picture. He saw the human soul, too, with the sins that afflicted it. So as the Healer, when they sought His help, He healed the larger sickness first. He forgave the sins. Then, since the really important healing had already been effected, He said: "Take courage." The victim's picture had been brightened from near-black to light gray.

It is the same with us. Our world is certainly sick. When we ask God to cure it, He sees more than we do. He sees the confusion of our affairs and the horrors that threaten us, the international and domestic sparks that are flying so dangerously. But He sees more—far more. He sees the sins of the peoples of the world. That sinfulness is, in truth, our larger sickness. So He says to us too: "Sons, take courage, your sins are forgiven."

But to obtain his cure of our larger ills, we must see with His eyes—with faith. We must recognize our sinfulness and go to the sacramental water's edge to seek our cure. Then, indeed, there will be reason to "take courage." For Our Lord passed the certainty of that cure on to all of us when He said to the priests of His Church forever: "Receive the Holy Spirit; when you forgive men's sins, they are forgiven; when you hold them bound, they are held bound" (John 20:22).

We need not leave the problems of the day to our representatives in the United Nations or to our governments. The task of painting a brighter world picture belongs first to the individual. Your personal reformation and mine, begun with the sacrament of penance, is the first and most important step towards safety and peace. DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

REV. NELSON W. LOCAL teaches at Mt. St. Joseph's Teachers College in Buffalo, N. Y., and is a periodic contributor to the *Priest* magazine.

JOHN J. MENG, professor of history at Hunter College, N. Y., since 1949, was formerly assistant professor of politics at the Catholic University of America. At present he is also serving as chairman of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs.

CATHERINE D. GAUSE, who holds an A.B. from the University of Delaware, has had eighteen years of teaching experience, specializing in French and child care. Mrs. Gause is married and has two children.

# Saint Benedict

By T. F. LINDSAY

Who was St. Benedict? What is the real story of his life? We know that he was the author of the famous *Holy Rule*, and the founder of a historic abbey on the now tragic heights of Monte Cassino. The biographical sources are extremely few, but out of them Mr. Lindsay has woven an inspiring portrait of this man of God and his immense achievement.

"Although very scholarly in tone, the book is far from dry, in fact, it makes very interesting reading . . . full of realistic commonsense, which makes the reader feel that he is meeting the real St. Benedict." *Catholic Monthly Review*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### **The state takes over**

EDITOR: The second-last paragraph of Oscar Ewing's letter (AM. 8/19, p. 520) goes to the heart of the "welfare state" problem: "... government should only step in to carry out responsibilities that non-government individuals and organizations cannot or will not undertake."

The field of child care is an example. There is a tradition that religious groups are responsible for the care of the child when parents are unwilling or unable to fulfill their proper role. With Catholics, this is more than a tradition.

An opinion exists that public child-care programs are "taking over," directly and exclusively, this responsibility of the Church for the "homeless" child. Even Catholic administrators in public agencies (with exceptions) are enthusiastically assisting in this transition. Of course, they talk about "religious needs," after discussing emotional, educational, social needs. Religious "interests" are protected as required by law. A fairly negative process.

The question might be asked: "Does government fill a vacuum or create one?" Priests and laity of the "immigrant" Church were greatly concerned about the dependent and neglected child. Are their successors, wealthier and more numerous, creating a vacuum into which a nice, secular, tax-supported program is stepping? CHARLES E. BIRMINGHAM

Bay Shore, L. I.

### **Why there is hoarding**

EDITOR: Mrs. Martin makes many excellent points in "Don't Be a Hoarder" (AM., 8/26/50). Yet, here are the usual "buts."

Consumers like myself (the head of a family of seven, including five children) remember with some bitterness the nauseating experiences of the World War II years and those immediately following.

Sugar was rationed. Thousands of tons melted in the rain on Louisiana docks. Speculators stored thousands more in dilapidated warehouses in the Northwest. We were told we had to do without, because it was going to the service men. Meat was allegedly scarce. Politicians and their hacks (at least in our town) got plenty of meat free, sans ration points.

Good-quality clothing and yard goods were scarce. For many months after the war, wholesalers and retailers palmed off at racketeering prices the cheap, shoddy stuff with which they were stuck. One of the biggest farces of the whole era was the trick of making men's trousers without cuffs. The tailor wasn't allowed to put

them on. Yet he'd hand you the material cut off and you, like most persons, would toss it in the ash-can.

Most long-suffering Americans went along. Congressman Andrew J. May, the Garsson Brothers, John Maragon and heaven knows how many more made hay with tongue in cheek.

One cannot justify the senseless hoarding against which Mrs. Martin rightly inveighs, but one can understand the attitude of consumers who feel quite positive that the same sort of racket will be worked this time. The fast-buck boys have been figuring the percentages for a long time—long before the Korean War.

Mrs. Martin's well-written, pungent article would get wider reception if we had guarantees that things would be different this time. As it is, I sense that most Americans (hereabouts at least) are looking on with a curled lip and very uncharitable thoughts in their minds.

ROBERT L. OTTO

Cincinnati, Ohio

### **Washington and the Tripoli treaty**

EDITOR: AMERICA carried recently a very full review-article of R. Freeman Butts' *The American Tradition in Religion and Education* (9/9, pp. 579-83). Your reviewer did not aim at the weakest point of Butts' armor; but he thoroughly crushed him without doing so.

Butts quoted George Washington as saying, in connection with the American Treaty with Tripoli: "As the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion. . . ."

Washington never said those words; but they occur in the *paraphrase* of the Tripolitan Treaty which Joel Barlow sent from overseas to America, which paraphrase was ratified by our Government and signed by John Adams, more than a year after Washington retired from the Presidency. The ascription of those words to Washington originates from the idea that he made them his when he signed the treaty, which he never signed.

But this is only half the story. The treaty was written in the Turkish language, and it was translated only comparatively recently. Judge of the astonishment of historians when it was observed that in the treaty—the real treaty—those words do not appear at all, nor anything like them.

I call your attention to this point because I've seen these words attributed to Washington time and time again in anti-religionist publications and writings.

St. Louis, Mo. LAURENCE J. KENNY

### **Christian Democrats in exile**

EDITOR: How right you were when in your editorial comment on the recently formed "Central European Christian Democratic Union" (AM. 8/12, p. 483) you reminded those concerned that "the representatives of the Christian Democratic Parties [should] be not self-assigned but democratically chosen by conventions of party members in exile."

True, some of the exiled politicians can point to their past political leadership. But some cannot. And conditions in Central-Eastern Europe have since been shaken by such political and social earthquakes that political structures of the past may mean little in those countries after liberation. Even in Western Europe, which was spared the horrors of Communist domination, some famous pre-war parties did not survive, and entirely new political formations have emerged from the ruins of the past.

There is, however, another question too. In your comment you correctly remarked that "the same Christianity which formed Western civilization is today providing the spiritual basis of the heroic resistance everywhere behind the Iron Curtain." Would it not be unjust and damaging to this most genuine and general Christian renaissance, born in mass-martyrdom and bred by common suffering across the past party-lines, to let it be prematurely identified with any particular political group, especially in exile?

Finally, there is an important principle behind your appropriate advice that "some representative of Catholic Slovakia be admitted to the Union." The tragedy of Central-Eastern Europe cannot be fully explained in terms of the "big imperialisms" of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia alone. There were also those "little imperialisms" of the Poles, the Czechs and the Serbs, who dominated the Ukrainians, the Slovaks, the Croatians and the Slovenes. The first reform that is needed for a happier future of Central-Eastern Europe is the recognition of an equal political status for all the nations of that area. Only then will this multinational space between Germany and Russia, extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, some day find the way to its necessary integration, and with it to a lasting freedom, prosperity and security.

Pittsburgh, Pa. CYRIL A. ZEBOT  
Former President of the Pax  
Romana association in Slovenia

AMERICA receives many long communications which the Editors are unable to publish for lack of space. So that more of our readers may have an opportunity to express their views, we urge correspondents to make their letters as short as possible. Communications of 250 words or less are preferred.—THE EDITOR.



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